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A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE

OLD LONDON BRIDGE

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The earliest pension fall now, from a unique drawing in Pepys's Collection in Magdalen College Cambridge reproduced by permission, from a photo-chrome-lithograph made by the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY, 1884, by W. Griggs

A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE

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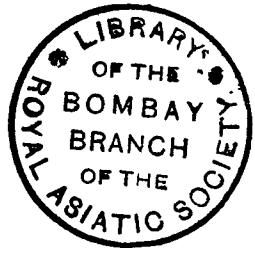
BY

J. R. GREEN M.A.



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NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

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OLD LONDON BRIDGE, c. A.D. 1600 . . . . . *Frontispiece to Vol. III.*

Reproduced, by permission, from a photo-chromolithograph made for the New Shakspere Society from a drawing in Pepys' Collection at Magdalene College, Cambridge. This is the earliest genuine view of London Bridge.

The bridge itself was built 1176–1209. Between the Middlesex shore and the first pier next that side stand the waterworks, built 1582. On the eighth pier stands the Bridge Chapel, dedicated to S. Thomas of Canterbury. The twelfth pier (seventh from the Surrey side) was formerly occupied by a drawbridge tower, on the top of which traitors' heads were set. In 1576 this tower, "being in great decay," was taken down, and in its stead was put up, c. 1584, "a pleasant and beautiful dwelling-house," made entirely of wood, and called Nonesuch House. It was made in Holland, brought over in pieces, and put together entirely with wooden pegs. Between Nonesuch House and the next block of buildings is a wooden drawbridge, "to let masted or big boats through." On the third pier from Surrey side is another curious wooden edifice, consisting of four round turrets connected by a curtain and embattled, and enclosing several small habitations, with a broad covered passage beneath, the building itself overhanging the bridge on both sides; this dated from 1577–9. On the next pier stands Southwark, or Traitors' Gate, built at the same time; here the traitors' heads were placed after the demolition of the old drawbridge tower. The last two arches on the Surrey side are occupied by Southwark corn-mills, built c. 1588. The rest of the buildings on the bridge were dwelling-houses and shops.

MONUMENT TO JOHN STOWE. . . . . *to face page* 935

Stowe, a tailor by trade, is famous as the historian and topographer of London. He died in 1605, and this monument was placed by his widow over his tomb in the church of S. Andrew Undershaft, Leadenhall Street. It is of veined English alabaster, with black marble introduced in the frieze, and a white marble plinth. The use of English alabaster seems to prove it to be of native workmanship. The quill pen placed in the hand of the figure has had to be replaced many times, having been stolen by visitors who imagined it to be the identical one with which Stowe wrote his chronicles. The decoration on the sides is mostly allegorical; ornaments made of books, crossed ink-horns, bones and shovels, the flame rising from a lamp, and a skull. The coat of arms above is of very singular design. The monument, the detail of which it is peculiarly difficult to see in its actual position, has been drawn specially for this book.

ILLUSTRATION ON TITLE-PAGE OF "COMMONPLACES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION," 1563 938

PREACHING BEFORE THE KING AND PRINCE OF WALES AT PAUL'S CROSS, 1616 939

From a picture in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. This "Cross," or pulpit, was built (on the site of an earlier one) towards the end of the fourteenth century. The frame was of timber, the steps of stone, the roof of lead. It was razed by order of Parliament in 1642–3; preaching in it had ceased in 1633. The picture represents Dr. John King, Bishop of

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London, preaching in 1616 before the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales, who are seated in a sort of bay jutting out from the gallery facing the spectator.

COLONEL HUTCHINSON AND HIS SON (*Picture by R. Walker, formerly at Owthorpe*) 940

"THE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN" (*Braithwait, "The English Gentleman," second edition*, 1633) 942

"THE ENGLISH GENTLEWOMAN" (*Braithwait, "The English Gentlewoman,"* 1631) 943

A PURITAN FAMILY 944

Frontispiece to a music-book, "Tenor of the whole Psalms in 4 Parts . . . set forth for the encrease of vertue and the abolishynge of other vayne and tryflyng ballades," London, 1563.

JOHN MILTON, AGED TEN YEARS (*Picture by Cornelius Janssen, in the possession of Mr. Edgar Disney, of the Hyde, Ingatestone*) 945

ORGAN POSITIVE, EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*South Kensington Museum*) 946

The organ on which Milton played was probably an instrument of this kind. It was called "positive," as being intended to occupy a fixed position on a stand or table, unlike the earlier "portative" shown in p. 396.

THE MOTHER OF OLIVER CROMWELL 949

From an original portrait in the possession of Mrs. Russell Astley, of Chequers Court, who has kindly had it photographed for reproduction in this book. Mrs. Cromwell was Elizabeth, daughter of William Steward, of Ely.

BRASS OF HUMPHRY WILLIS, ESQ. 950

Humphry Willis died in 1618, aged twenty-eight years. This memorial of him, placed in Wells Cathedral by his widow, is a curious illustration of Puritan modes of thought. The dead man's shield, charged with the arms of his family, hangs behind him on a shattered tree labelled "Broken, not dead, I live in hope"; to the plumed hat, the buckled shoes, the broken sword, the cards and dice, the tennis-racket and the viol, which he leaves behind him, he exclaims, "Vain things, farewell"; instead of them he turns to the "Armour of God" and the "Word of Life," praying, "Give me these, O Lord"; an angel replies, "To him that asketh, it shall be given," and holds out the book of life, while another, holding a crown, says, "Take it, thou hast conquered." The two birds and the hand in the upper corner may represent the Christian soul and its refuge, figured by the dove sheltered in Noah's ark.

JOHN BUNYAN (*Drawing by Robert White, in British Museum*) 951

A FAMILY MEAL, EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Ballad in Roxburghe Collection, British Museum*) 952

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT (*S. Clark, "Lives of Eminent Persons"*) 954

RICHARD HOOKER (*Picture in National Portrait Gallery*) 956

JOHN WHITGIFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (*Engraving by G. Vertue*) . . 959

RICHARD BANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (*Engraving by G. Vertue*). 960

GEORGE ABBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (*Engraving by Simon Pass*) . . 961

AN ENGLISH PRINTING-OFFICE, 1619. 964

From the title-page of R. Pont (Pontanus), "De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis Digestio," printed by William Jones, 1619.

LEICESTER'S HOSPITAL, WARWICK 965

A most interesting group of buildings. The gate is the old west gate of the town, and dates from the thirteenth century; the tower was added by Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, under Richard II. Close beside the gate the united gilds of Holy Trinity, S. Mary and S. George reared their Hall, in the sixth year of Richard's reign. In 37 Hen. VIII. the gild was dissolved; in 4 Ed. VI. the hall was granted to Sir Nicolas Le Strange; under Mary it passed into the hands of the bailiff and burgesses; these conveyed it in 1571 to the Earl of Leicester, and he turned it into a "Maison-Dieu," or hospital, for a master and twelve brethren, and appointed Thomas Cartwright the first master.

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"THE MAP OF MOCK-BEGGAR HALL, WITH HIS SITUATION IN THE SPACIOUS COUNTRY CALLED ANYWHERE" (*Roxburghe Ballad*) 966

At the close of Elizabeth's reign, and throughout the reign of James I. and the early years of Charles, there was much complaining in the rural districts because the nobles and gentry flocked up to London, leaving their country houses empty and neglected, so that where in former times there had been feasting for rich and poor alike, a beggar could not now get a crust of bread. To the houses thus deserted was given the nickname of "Mock-beggar Hall." One result of this gathering to the Court was that for the first time news of the doings there were carried back to every district throughout England, and thus became a matter of criticism to the country at large.

IGNATIUS DE LOYOLA (*Rose, "S. Ignatius de Loyola"*) 968

From a picture by Coello, in the house of the Jesuits at Madrid.

"FISHING FOR SOULS," 1614 970

From a picture by Adrian van de Venne, in the Museum at Amsterdam. An allegorical representation of the religious strife of the time. On the left of the spectator is a group of Protestants, in the midst of them preachers in boats, one of whom holds up to the men in the water around a Bible inscribed "Evangelio Piscatores, 1614"; the ships on the right are filled with Catholic bishops, priests, and monks, and the Catholics are grouped on the shore near them. Many of the figures are portraits.

GEORGE HERBERT (*Engraving by Robert White*) 972

JAMES I. (*Picture by P. van Somer, in National Portrait Gallery*) 975

CONVOCATION, 1623–4 (*Contemporary print in British Museum*) 977

THE NATION AND ITS RIOTOUS GOVERNORS, 1603 978

From a satirical print in the British Museum. The figures of the various people striving to mount the ass which represents England, of the poor man who begs the judge to supersede them, and of the judge who wisely declines to meddle in the fray, illustrate not merely the costume but also the temper of the people with whom James had to deal at the beginning of his reign, and their view of the political situation.

QUEEN ELIZABETH OPENING PARLIAMENT 982

From R. Glover's "Nobilitas politica et civilis," 1608. This is probably the earliest authentic representation of a meeting of the House of Lords: for in that on p. 445 there is a confusion of dates, and the Peers gathered round Henry VIII. in p. 691 are evidently very informally grouped. In the present illustration the arrangement of the House, save that the mitred abbots have disappeared, is much the same as in Edward IV.'s time. The chair on the Queen's right is marked "Rex Scociæ," that on her left "Princeps Walliæ." The 17 bishops sit on the right side of the House (viewed from the throne), 29 lay peers on the left; the judges are in the middle; immediately before the throne stand the Treasurer and the Marshal; in the rear are some of the peers' eldest sons; and at the bar stands a deputation of the Commons, presenting their newly-chosen Speaker to the Queen.

UNITE OF JAMES I. 984

James I. issued coins similar to those already in use in England; but he also issued in 1604, beside the sovereign, a gold coin of the same value, called the unite, which commemorated the union of England and Scotland by the legend "King of Great Britain" (instead of "England and Scotland"), "France and Ireland" on the obverse, and "I will make them one people" on the reverse. Its value was afterwards raised to 22*s*. The specimen here figured (from the British Museum) dates from 1612–1619.

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES 985

From a miniature by Isaac Oliver, at Windsor Castle. Henry, eldest son of James I., was born in 1594 and died in 1612.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOTTERS 987

From the title-page of a German tract, "Warhafftige und eigentliche Beschreibung der Verrätherei," &c., published at Frankfort in 1606, by the brothers De Bry, who were in London at the time of the Plot.

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FRONT OF HOUSE OF SIR PAUL PINDAR 988

Formerly in Bishopsgate Without, London; built in 1600 by Sir Paul Pindar, a great Levant merchant, who was sent by James I. as ambassador to Turkey from 1611–1620. The house was demolished in 1890, when its front was removed to the South Kensington Museum, where it is now preserved. Its lower part had been altered so that restoration was impossible; the windows have been filled with modern glass, of a 17th century pattern; in the engraving this has been replaced by the simpler glazing which is shown in an old drawing of the house.

ARMS OF THE LEVANT COMPANY (*Hazlitt, "Livery Companies of London"*) . 989

The Company of Levant or Turkey merchants was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth.

ARMS OF THE AFRICAN COMPANY (*Hazlitt, "Livery Companies"*) 989

This Company was first incorporated in 1588; secondly, in 1662, under the name of "The Company of Royal Adventurers of England and Africa," and finally in 1672, as "The Royal African Company." Its success was small, owing to the opposition of the Dutch.

ORIGINAL ARMS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY 990

Mr. F. C. Danvers has kindly lent this illustration from his paper on the "India Office Records." The first charter granted to the East India Company by Elizabeth in 1600 gave them the exclusive privilege of trading to the Indies for fifteen years. In May 1601 they ordered their treasurer "to paye to the Kynge of Heraldes the some of Twentie merkes for assigninge a Armes to the Companie by vertue of his Office." In July, finding their voyage round the Cape hindered by Dutch and Spanish ships, they determined to seek a north-west passage to India; some interesting records of this scheme are preserved. At first they traded only with Java, Sumatra, and the neighbouring isles; in 1608 they sent ships to Surat and Cambay, and thus began a trade with India proper, where Surat became their chief seat. The earliest extant document from abroad relating to the Company's business is a translation of the Articles granted by the King of Achin to the subjects of the Queen of England, for free entry and trade in his dominions.

COURT OF WARDS AND LIVERIES, TEMP. ELIZABETH 991

From the engraving in "Vetusta Monumenta" of a picture in the collection of the Duke of Richmond. The date appears to be c. 1580–98. At the head of the table sits the Master of the Court (who at that time was Lord Burleigh), with the mace on the table beside him; right and left of him sit two judges, probably acting as his assessors; next to these sit, on the right the Surveyor, on the left the Attorney of the Court; next to the Surveyor is the Receiver-General, reading a scroll, and beyond him the Usher with his rod; opposite are the Auditor, and the Messenger wearing his badge; facing the Master stand three clerks, and behind them two Serjeants.

CRESSET, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Tower of London*) 992

MONUMENT OF RICHARD HUMBLE, ALDERMAN OF LONDON, AND HIS FAMILY 993

In the church of S. Mary Overie (also called S. Saviour), Southwark. Richard Humble died in 1616; this tomb, erected by his only surviving child, is one of the two canopied monuments in London, and has therefore been drawn specially for this book. The Alderman's two wives kneel behind him; below are represented, on one side his four daughters, on the other his two sons.

THE BELLMAN OF LONDON, 1616 994

From the title-page of a tract or broadside, "The Bellman of London," 1616, in the Bagford Collection (British Museum). Some forty years later Samuel Pepys writes in his Diary:—"I staid up till the bellman came by with his bell, just under my window, as I was writing this very line, and cried, 'Past one of the clock, and a cold, frosty, windy morning.'"

OLD TOWN HALL, HEREFORD 995

From a facsimile, published by the Camden Society, of a MS. "History from Marble," compiled by Thomas Dingley in the reign of Charles II. The Hereford Town-hall was built in 1618–20 by John Abell, who was considered the master-builder of the 17th century, and who was appointed "one of his Majesty's carpenters" during the defence of Hereford at the siege of 1643.

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The building is now destroyed. Dingley gives a curious account of it:—"This is a fair Timber Structure supported by Columns of wood. Here sit the Judges of Assize over the Piazza or Walk. In the uppermost part of this building are Chambers for the several Corporacons of this city with their Arms, and these proper verses of Scripture and devices over their Doors.

"The Skinners have the representation of Adam and Eve, and these words:—Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skin, and cloathed them.—Gen. ch. 3 ver. 21.

"The Tanners this:—Send therefore to Joppa and call hither Simon whose surname is Peter; he is lodged in the house of one Symon a Tanner, by, &c.—Acts 10 v. 32.

"Butchers, the motto:—Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus, oves & boves."—Psal. 8 v. 6 and 7.

"Glovers:—They wandred about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, &c.—Heb. ch. 11 v. 37.

"Bakers:—Give us day by day our daily bread.—Luke 11 v. 3d.

"Cloathiers or Cloath Workers . . . have this motto:—My trust is in God alone, besides about their chamber these verses (I suppose sett up by one John Lewis, once master of the Company here), in old English Character, such as it is:—

"Cloathing doth other trades exceed as farr
As splendid Sol outshines the dullest starr.
By it the poor doe gain their lively hood
Who otherwise might starve for want of Food.
Farmers by it make money and do pay
Their Landlords duly on the very day.
The Clothiers they grow rich, shopkeepers thrive,
The Winter's worsted and man kept alive.
Advance but Clothing and we need not sayle
To Colchus against dragons to prevayle
Or yoke wild Bulls to gain the Golden Fleece,
As Jason did who stray'd so far from Greece.
Promote the Staple Trade with Skill and Art
The Fleece of Gold will satisfye your heart,
Concenter that the Weever may go on,
John Lewis swears by Jove it shall be done."

TWO JUDGES, TEMP. ELIZABETH (*MS. Add.* 28330) . . . . . *to face* p. 996

SIR EDWARD COKE (*Engraved Portrait by David Loggan*) 997

"KNIPERDOLING" 998

From a sketch by Inigo Jones, by whom the costumes, scenery, and stage contrivances for the Court masques under James I. and Charles I. were nearly all designed; the examples of his sketches here given are from the Shakespeare Society's facsimiles of originals in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. Kniperdoling, or Knipperdolling, was a cobbler and a prophet of great repute among the Anabaptists in the time of John of Leyden (early 16th century). The figure to which his name has been given by I. Jones was evidently designed for some Court masque, and intended as a satire upon the sectaries. It thus illustrates the contemptuous attitude of the Court towards the people.

GROUP FROM THE MASQUE OF "THE FORTUNATE ISLES" 999

By Inigo Jones. This masque was performed at Court on Twelfth Night, 1626. The characters here represented are an "Airy Spirit," "Scogan," "Skelton" (said to have been poets of the 15th century), and "A Brother of the Rosy Cross."

"CADE" 1000

Sketched by Inigo Jones, probably for the part of Jack Cade in Shakespeare's "Henry VI.," Part 2. In this figure, as in that of Knipperdolling, Jones was evidently making a mock, for the entertainment of the court, at a popular leader. Cade's attitude is that of drunken bravado; his tattered trousers contrast absurdly with his plumed head-piece, which is a "sallet" or

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"salad," a peculiarly shaped helmet worn in Cade's time, but already uncommon in that of Shakespere (who has a punning allusion to the double meaning of its name; "Henry VI., Part 2, Act iv. Sc. x.), and all but obsolete in that of Jones.

ROBERT CARR AND FRANCES HOWARD, EARL AND COUNTESS OF SOMERSET (*contemporary print in British Museum*) 1001

ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY (*engraving by Elstrak*) 1003

GERMAN CROSSBOW } c. 1600 (*Tower of London*) 1004
ARBALEST }

The later crossbows were mostly made in Germany; some of them were highly ornamented. The second of those here figured is inlaid with ivory. Crossbows are said to have been used in actual warfare for the last time by some of the English troops in the expedition to La Rochelle, in 1627; see below, p. 1033.

A CANNON, 1608 1005

From MS. Cotton Julius F. iv. (British Museum), a treatise on artillery, written 1608.

PIKEMAN, TEMP. JAMES I. 1006

MUSKETEER, TEMP. JAMES I. 1007

These two figures are from a broadside in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

A KNIGHT OF THE GARTER AND HIS USHER, 1623-5 1008

From MS. Egerton 1264 (British Museum), the Album of a traveller from Nuremberg, George Holtzschuher.

TILE WITH ARMS AND CREST OF THE BACON FAMILY (*South Kensington Museum*) 1009

The initials N. B. on this tile represent Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of Francis.

CHARLES I. AS PRINCE OF WALES (*miniature by Peter Oliver, at Windsor Castle*) 1012

ROCKING-HORSE OF CHARLES I. 1013

From the Old Palace, Theobald's Grove; now in the Great House, Cheshunt.

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, HIS SWORD-BEARER, AND PURSE-BEARER, 1623-5 (*MS. Eg.* 1264) 1014

THE LADY MAYORESS AND HER ATTENDANTS, 1623-5 (*MS. Eg.* 1264) . . . 1015

ENTRY OF PRINCE CHARLES INTO MADRID, 1623 (*contemporary German print*) . 1016

PRINCE CHARLES'S WELCOME HOME FROM SPAIN (*broadside, in collection of Society of Antiquaries*) 1018

THE ENGLISH COUNCIL OF WAR, 1623-4 (*broadside, in same collection*) . . . 1020

HALBERT } SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Tower of London*) 1021
CATCHPOLE }

CHARLES I. OPENING PARLIAMENT (*contemporary print in British Museum*) . 1022

An adaptation of the older engraving reproduced in p 982. The alteration in costume is noticeable.

ST. GERMANS CHURCH AND PORT ELIOT 1025

SIR JOHN ELIOT (*picture in the possession of the Earl of St. Germans, at Port Eliot*) 1026

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM (*from W. J. Delff's engraving of a picture by Miereveldt*) 1028

CHIEF JUSTICE CREW, (*after W. Hollar*) 1031

MONUMENT OF SIR CHARLES MONTAGUE, 1625 (*Gardiner, "Students' History England"*) 1032

In Barking Church, Essex. A similar illustration of the tents and military accoutrements of the time occurs on a monument in S. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate, to the memory of Martin Bond, captain of the Trained Bands of London, who died in 1643.

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SHIPS OF BUCKINGHAM'S FLEET ("*A manifestation of the Duke of Buckingham*," 1627). 1033

FACSIMILE OF A PAGE FROM THE ACCOUNT-BOOK OF THE COOPERS' COMPANY OF LONDON, 1576 (*Hazlitt*, "*Livery Companies*") 1034
An illustration of the elaborate care and artistic skill which the great manufacturing and trading companies bestowed upon their documents and records. The influence of these companies (among whom the Coopers were one of the most important) on both local and central government was at this time very great. The Coopers' Company dates from the fourteenth century; its extant records and accounts begin in 1439.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, TEMP. CHARLES I. 1036
From "Discours du bon et loial subject de la Grande Bretagne à la Royne de ce Pays," Paris, 1648.

A SUPPER-PARTY, EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Roxburghe Ballad*) 1038

"TRIPLE EPISCOPACIE" (*Tract*, 1641) 1040
The minister called "of God" is evidently a Puritan; the other two figures are caricatures of Laud, and the whole illustrates the popular feeling about him and his proceedings.

HAYMAKERS, EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Roxburghe Ballad*) 1042

MAP OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES IN 1640 1044

SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT (*engraving by C. van de Pas in Holland's "Heroologia"*) 1045

A FAMILY GROUP, EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Roxburghe Ballad*) 1046

JOHN SMITH, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA 1047
From the map of New England in his "Generall Historie of Virginia," London, 1624.

GEORGE CALVERT, FIRST LORD BALTIMORE 1048
From a picture in the Earl of Verulam's collection at Gorhambury. The first Lord Baltimore planned the settlement of Maryland, which was carried into effect by his son.

MEDAL OF LORD AND LADY BALTIMORE, 1632 (*British Museum*) 1049
A very rare silver medal, with portraits of Cecil Calvert, 2nd Lord Baltimore, and Anne Arundell, his wife, in the year in which Charles I. granted him the province of Maryland.

GRAVE OF THOMAS CLARK, MATE OF THE "MAYFLOWER," D. 1627 (*Harper's Magazine*) 1050
On Burial Hill, New Plymouth, Massachusetts.

ALLYN HOUSE, NEW PLYMOUTH 1051
Built by one of the Pilgrim Fathers; demolished 1826; here reproduced from W. Tudor's "*Life of James Otis*," Boston (Mass.), 1823.

AN ENGLISH CITIZEN RIDING WITH HIS WIFE 1052
From MS. Egerton, 1269 (British Museum), the Album of Tobias Oelhafen, a citizen of Nuremburg who visited England in 1623-5.

RURAL SCENE, MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Roxburghe Ballad*) 1053

WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (*picture by Vandyck*) 1054

BRASS OF SAMUEL HARSNETT, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK 1056
On his tomb in Chigwell Church, Essex; here reproduced from the frontispiece to Mr. Gordon Goodwin's Catalogue of the Harsnett Library, Colchester. Harsnett died in 1631. The brass is an interesting illustration of the revived use of the old ecclesiastical vestments at this period; it represents the archbishop in full pontificals, with stole, alb, dalmatic, cope, mitre and pastoral staff, and is the latest known example of an English prelate thus arrayed.

A SCHOOLMASTER, EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 1057
From the frontispiece to a Latin comedy, "Pedantius," written in the latter years of Elizabeth for performance at Trinity College, Cambridge, but not printed till 1631. Its author, whom the figure of "Pedantius" is thought to

represent, was Dr. Thomas Beard, master of the Hospital at Huntingdon, and also of the Grammar School, where Oliver Cromwell was one of his pupils. From 1625 till his death in 1632 he held, together with these offices, that of Lecturer at one of the churches in the town, where he was in great repute among the Puritans. After his death the lecture was suppressed by Laud.

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MINSTRELS OUTSIDE A TAVERN, EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Roxburghe Ballad*) 1058

THE COMPLAINTS OF "NICK FROTH" AND "RULEROST" AGAINST THE PURITAN OBSERVANCE OF SUNDAY 1059

From the title-page of a tract, "The lamentable complaints of Nick Froth the tapster and Rulerost the cooke, concerning the restraint lately set forth against drinking, potting, and piping on the Sabbath day, and against selling meate," 1641. In that year the Puritan House of Commons issued, as a counterblast to the Book of Sports, a prohibition of all feasting, merrymaking, and opening of taverns on Sunday.

WILLIAM JUXON, BISHOP OF LONDON AND ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (*from an engraving by H. D. Thielcke*) 1061

"COACH AND SEDAN" (*Tract*, 1636) 1062

LAMBETH PALACE CHAPEL, LOOKING WEST 1063

The ceiling is Laud's work; the stalls and the screen were probably erected by his friend and successor, Juxon, at the Restoration, after the chapel had been again ruined under the Commonwealth.

CHARLES I. (*Q. R. Miscell. Books*, III, *Public Record Office*) 1066

IRISH SOLDIERS IN THE SERVICE OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS (*German Broadside*, 1631, *in British Museum*) 1068

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS (*from an engraving by Delff, after a picture by Mierevelt*) 1069

ALDERMAN ABEL, PATENTEE AND MONOPOLIST, 1641, AND HIS WIFE . . . 1072

From a broadside, dated 1641, "An exact legendary compendiously containing the whole life of Alderman Abel, the maine Proiector and Patentee for the raising of wines." Beginning life as apprentice to a vintner, Abel rose to great wealth and importance in the city. The site of his house, the "Ship" in Old Fish Street, had once belonged to Cardinal Wolsey, and it was popularly said that in excavating its cellars he had found some of the Cardinal's hidden treasure. In 1637 he and his cousin Richard Kilvert were joined in a patent whereby the London Vintners obtained a monopoly of the sale of wines by retail. A Parliamentary proclamation put an end to this monopoly, and led to the downfall of its projectors, in 1641.

LONDON FROM THE RIVER, EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*from an engraving by Cornelius Jan Visscher*) 1073

FLYING FROM THE PLAGUE, 1630 1074

From a broadside, "Looking-glass for town and country," in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. The town complains that people are deserting it through fear of the plague.

AN ENGLISH KITCHENMAID, 1644 (*Hollar*, "*Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus*") . 1075

BURFORD PRIORY, OXFORDSHIRE 1076

The seat of the Lenthall family. The house was chiefly, and the chapel (the small building on the left) entirely, built by William Lenthall, the Speaker of the Long Parliament.

A LADY OF THE ENGLISH COURT (*Hollar*, "*Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus*," 1643) 1077

AN ENGLISH LADY IN WINTER DRESS (*Hollar*, "*Aula Veneris*," 1644) . . . 1078

THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD (*engraved by O. Lacour, after a picture by Vandyck in the possession of Sir Philip Grey-Egerton, Bart., of Oulton Park, Cheshire*) 1080

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ROOM IN MALAHIDE CASTLE (*after W. H. Bartlett*) 1082
The site of Malahide, four miles from Dublin, was granted by Henry II. to an ancestor of the Talbot family. The room here figured seems to have been decorated in the early part of the seventeenth century. It is panelled with dark Irish oak, richly carved with small figures, mostly of Scriptural subjects.

JAMES USHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH (*from Vertue's engraving of a picture by Sir P. Lely*). 1083

STONE CANDLESTICK, dated 1634 (*Antiquarian Museum. Edinburgh*). 1085
In the form of a Roman altar; one of a pair, seemingly of Scotch manufacture.

MAP OF MODERN SCOTLAND 1086

A SCOTSWOMAN, TEMP. CHARLES I. (*Hollar, "Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus," 1649*) 1087

TRAQUAIR CASTLE, PEEBLES-SHIRE 1090
The best example now remaining of Scottish domestic architecture, unaltered since the seventeenth century. It was probably built, or at least completed, by the Earl of Traquair, who was Lord High Treasurer of Scotland in 1635.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 1092
From Loggan's "Cantabrigia Illustrata," 1688. Save for the block of buildings at rear, added in 1642, the college could then have been scarcely altered since Milton's time; it has been greatly altered since Loggan's. The tree in the middle of the Fellows' garden (behind the new building) is a mulberry which Milton is said to have planted, and which remains to this day.

JOHN MILTON, AGED 21 (*from Vertue's engraving, 1731, of a picture then in the possession of Speaker Onslow*) 1093

FIGURES DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES FOR A MASQUE (*Shakespere Society's facsimile*) 1095

LUDLOW CASTLE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 1096
From a drawing by Thomas Dineley in his "Account of the Official Progress of Henry first Duke of Beaufort through Wales, 1684," a MS. in the possession of the Duke of Beaufort. The drawing is here reproduced by permission from the facsimile published by Messrs. Blades, East, and Blades.

JOHN PRYNNE (*after W. Hollar*) 1097

THE "SOVEREIGN OF THE SEAS" (*contemporary print by John Payne*) 1098
This ship was built for the Royal Navy in 1637.

JOHN HAMPDEN (*portrait in collection of the Earl of St. Germans, at Port Eliot*) 1100

JOHN BASTWICK, HENRY BURTON (*after W. Hollar*) 1102

FACSIMILE OF PART OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, 1638 (*Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh*) 1104

ALEXANDER LESLIE, EARL OF LEVEN (*picture by Vandyck*) 1107

PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURGH 1108
From the middle of the sixteenth century the Scottish Parliament, the Courts of Justice, and the Town Council of Edinburgh, had all held their sittings in a building almost on the same site as the hall here represented, which was built in 1632-39 by subscriptions raised in Edinburgh by order of the Town Council, owing to a threat that Parliament and the Courts should be removed from the city unless better accommodation were provided for them. After the extinction of the Scottish Parliament in 1707, the hall was divided by partitions into booths occupied by small traders; it has since been used as a vestibule to the Court Rooms which form the several judicial chambers of the Court of Session.

JOHN PYM (*miniature by Samuel Cooper in the collection of Mrs. Russell-Astley, at Chequers Court*) 1112

CHARLES I. IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ("*Discours du bon et loial subject*," 1648) . 1114
The Chancellor stands behind the King on the right, the treasurer on the left; the Grand Chamberlain holds the crown, the Constable the sword; in the foreground are a herald and an usher; some of the peers are grouped around.

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THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE AND WESTMINSTER HALL, TEMP. CHARLES I. (*after W. Hollar*) 1116

One of the very few existing views of the old House of Parliament. The building was originally a chapel, founded by King Stephen in honour of his patron saint, and refounded by Edward III. as a collegiate church attached to the royal palace of Westminster. After the suppression of the college under Edward VI., the chapel became the meeting place of the House of Commons, whose sessions had hitherto been held in the chapter-house of the Abbey. The Commons continued to meet in St. Stephen's chapel till 1834, when it was burnt down; only the crypt now remains.

LAMBETH PALACE (*after W. Hollar*, 1647) 1118

TRIAL OF STRAFFORD (*after W. Hollar*) 1120

EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD (*after W. Hollar*) 1122

JAMES GRAHAME, EARL (AFTERWARDS MARQUIS) OF MONTROSE (*from an engraving by Faed of a picture by Honthorst*) 1125

LUCIUS CARY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND (*Picture by Franz Hals, in the collection of Lord Arundell of Wardour*) 1127

SIR EDMUND VERNEY 1128

Ever since Charles was thirteen, Sir Edmund Verney (who was ten years older) had been in his household; since Charles's accession to the Crown, he had been Knight Marshal of the Palace; he was appointed Standard-bearer to the King in August, 1642, vowed that "By the grace of God, they that would wrest that standard from his hand must first wrest his soul from his body," and kept his vow; the standard was taken at Edgehill out of the rigid clasp of a dead man's hand. The picture here reproduced is among the Verney family portraits at Claydon House; it was painted by Vandyck for Charles I. as a present to Sir Edmund. He is represented with his Marshal's staff; the head-piece on the table beside him is a "Pott for the Hedd" which he ordered to be made and sent after him when on the march to Scotland with Charles in 1639, but it was so difficult to get one made big enough that he never received it till the expedition was at an end, whereupon he wrote to his son "I will now keepe it to boyle my porrage in."

"THE CARELESSE NON-RESIDENT" 1130

From the title-page of a tract, "A Remonstrance against the Non-residents of Great Britain," 1642. Shows how long the popular feeling against pluralists had existed before the system was abolished in 1838. The figure gives the dress of an English clergyman in the middle of the seventeenth century.

PROCTOR AND PARATOR 1131

From the title-page of a tract, "The Proctor and Parator, their Mourning, or the Lamentation of Doctors' Commons at their downfall; being a true Dialogue relating the fearfull abuses and exorbitances of those spirituall courts," 1641.

WILLIAM LENTHALL, SPEAKER OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT . . . . . *to face* p. 1133

From a water-colour copy (in the Sutherland collection, Bodleian Library), by Thomas Athow, of a picture formerly at Burford Priory, the home of the Lenthalls.

FACSIMILE OF PART OF SIR RALPH VERNEY'S NOTES OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT 1134

Reproduced, by permission, from Lady Verney's "Memoirs of the Verney Family." Sir Ralph (son of Sir Edmund represented in p. 1128; see above) was present as member for Aylesbury, in the House of Commons when Charles went to seize the five members. The account of the scene given in the text is derived from the notes here reproduced.

AN ENGLISH ARCHER (*Gervase Markham, "Art of Archerie," 1634*) 1135

Seemingly meant to represent the King himself.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH, EARL (AFTERWARDS DUKE) OF NEWCASTLE (*from Holl. engraving of a picture by Vandyck in the collection of Earl Spencer*) 1137

MILITIAMEN, TEMP. CHARLES I. (*contemporary tract*) 1138

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MEDAL OF SIR JOHN HOTHAM 1139
A unique medal (silver) in the British Museum; by Thomas Simon, a medallist who worked for the Parliamentary party. Sir J. Hotham was accused of treason to the Parliament in 1644, and beheaded January 2, 1645. This medal was a memorial executed for his family and friends, according to a custom very general at this time.

REVERSE OF SECOND GREAT SEAL OF CHARLES I. 1140
This seal, used in 1627—1640, is the finest of the three seals of Charles I. Its obverse shows the King on his throne; the spirited figure on the reverse represents him as the type of a dashing Cavalier soldier, in striking contrast with the Puritan warrior portrayed on the seal of Oliver Cromwell (p. 1247). Compare the whole conception of this seal with that of the Commonwealth (pp. 1220—1221).

ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX, GENERAL OF THE PARLIAMENTARY FORCES (*after W. Hollar*) 1142

PRINCE RUPERT (*from a mezzotint by himself*) 1143

PILLAR AND STAIRCASE LEADING TO HALL, CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD 1144
From a photograph. A fine example of English architecture c. 1640.

£3 GOLD PIECE OF CHARLES I., 1643 (*British Museum*) 1145
During the year 1642-4 Charles issued some gold pieces, worth 60*s.* each. They seem to have been all coined at Oxford. The types vary; this one, the finest, is very rare. The legend, an abbreviation of "Religio Protestans, Leges Angliæ, Libertas Parliamenti," refers to the King's Declaration at Wellington, September 19, 1642, that he would preserve "the Protestant religion, the known laws of the land, and the just privileges of Parliament."

SIR BEVIL GREENVIL (*picture belonging to Mr. Bernard Grenville*) 1147

AN ENGLISH TRADESMAN'S WIFE AND CITIZEN'S DAUGHTER (*Hollar, "Aula Veneris," 1649*) 1148

HIGHLAND DIRK, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh*). 1149

MOULD FOR COMMUNION-TOKENS 1150

STAMP FOR COMMUNION-TOKENS 1151
The use of "tokens" to be distributed by the minister or elders to intending communicants a day or two before the Communion Service, and by them returned when they came to the service, was first adopted by the French Calvinists in 1560. From them the practice soon spread among the Scottish Presbyterians. The French tokens were of lead; in Scotland written tickets seem to have been used at first, but early in the seventeenth century metallic tokens became common, and have remained in use till the present time, when cards are again superseding them. They were generally made of lead; sometimes of brass or tin. The earliest of them were square, about half an inch to one inch in diameter, and marked simply with the initial of the parish; in the seventeenth century they grew larger, to make room for the introduction of a date and a more elaborate monogram; then there grew up a custom of making new tokens, or recasting old ones, when a new minister came to a parish, and early in the eighteenth century it became usual to mark them with the minister's initials. The tokens were generally made under the personal superintendence of certain members of the kirk-session appointed for the purpose. Each kirk-session had its own mould, or stamp, for making them. The examples here given are reproduced, by permission, from the Rev. T. Burns's "Old Scottish Communion Plate." The first illustration shows the token-mould of Crail parish, open, and with a token in it. The second represents the token-stamp of Swinton parish, in its box, and with a token beside it. Both date from the seventeenth century.

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, 1643 1152
A reduced facsimile of an engraving by W. Hollar, containing the text of the Covenant with allegorical illustrations. In the first compartment, on each side of the title, is a group of men swearing to the Covenant with uplifted hands, beneath the text Jer. l. 5; the first article is illustrated by a preacher, with the text Deut. xxvi. 17, 18; the second, by a church door whence issues a procession of "coristers, singing-men, deanes and bishops," over whose

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heads is written Matt. xv. 13; the third stands between the Houses of Lords and Commons, with the text Is. iv. 5; the fourth between "A Malignant" and "A Preist," who are both being led to punishment; over their heads is a text from Ez. xx. 38. The fifth article is illustrated by three men, representing England, Scotland, and Ireland, holding three strands of one rope, with the text from Eccles. iv. 12; the sixth, by a man, from whose mouth issue the words "Breake the Covenant," having his hands and feet bound by another who answers "O no, no," while over them is an inscription from Dan. xi. 28: at the foot of the last article is a church, to which a man points, with words from Micah iv. 2; another man addresses a third, "Come, let's go to the tavern," and a fourth man meets, with the words "I am not hee," a woman who says "I am shee."

MEDAL OF EARL OF MANCHESTER (*British Museum*) 1153
A silver medal, very rare; issued as a military reward to his soldiers, and interesting for the view of the two Houses of Parliament on the reverse.

ORDER OF PARLIAMENT CONCERNING ARMS 1154
Reproduced, by kind permission of Miss Toulmin Smith, from a copy in her possession. This order, issued March 23, 1644 (1643, old style), is interesting on account of the "mark" or monogram, L. C. E., representing the Lords and Commons of England, beneath the crown whose authority they had taken to themselves.

THE EARL OF ESSEX (*after W. Hollar*) 1155

OLIVER CROMWELL (*picture by Walker, at Hinchinbrook*) 1156

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR 1158, 1159

MEMORIAL MEDAL OF THE EARL OF ESSEX, 1646 (*British Museum*) 1160
Silver; very rare.

"A LOVELY COMPANY" 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166
Cromwell's own description of his brigade (see p. 1162) is well illustrated by these figures, carved in wood on the staircase at Cromwell House, Highgate. Local tradition asserts that this house—now used as a convalescent home in connexion with the Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormonde Street—was originally built in 1630, and was altered and re-decorated by Oliver Cromwell, and given by him to his daughter Bridget and her first husband, Ireton, whom she married in 1646. It is certain that Ireton lived at Highgate, where he was one of the acting governors of the Grammar School; the monogram I.C., doubtless representing Ireton and Cromwell, is on a mantelpiece in one of the rooms at Cromwell House; on the ceiling of another room (partly burnt in 1865, but restored) is a coat of arms which seems to be that of the Ireton family; and on a boundary stone let into the garden wall the initials I.C. appear again, with a small O between them, perhaps standing for Oliver. The whole decoration of the house shows that it was designed for the abode of an officer of the New Model. Two figures, said to have been Cromwell and Ireton, were destroyed at the Restoration; the nine which remain, placed as if on guard on the newels of the staircase, are unmistakably carved from the life; the originals were in all likelihood picked men of the New Model Army. They are:

1. Fifer.
2. Drummer.
3. Targeteer or rondelier, a kind of infantry thought by some leaders to be valuable against pikemen.
4. Officer of infantry, perhaps pikemen; a beautiful figure, with a very ornamental breastplate. That he is not a cavalry officer is shown by his iron skirts or tassets, which are unsuited for riding, and also by his having no spurs and no long steel gauntlet on his left hand.
5. Musketeer; a capital figure, the musket-stock very well carved. From earlier descriptions of these carvings before they were so much mutilated it is known that this man originally had a rest as well as a musket.
6. Pikeman; this figure formerly had a pike. As his sword is a short side-arm, he is not an officer.
7. Caliver-man. This figure had a caliver (a smaller piece than a musket) in the left hand; his armour and dress however are those of the typical pike-

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man, and as he has no bandolier or belt with little boxes of powder-charges hanging from it, he seems to have been an untidy man who carried his powder loose in his pocket.

8. Targeteer; this man formerly had a pike.

9 and 10. Musketeer (two views of the same figure). This man had a musket and a rest in his left hand, and still has his bandolier on his shoulder. The attitude with the hat off occurred in drill.

It is curious that among these figures there is no light horseman, though the light horseman is specially associated with Cromwell. This deficiency is supplied by a figure given below, p. 1222.

THE STAIRCASE, CROMWELL HOUSE, HIGHGATE 1167

This staircase has very fine panels, each representing a different military device, while at the top, crowning all, is a panel with the emblems of victory, a laurel-wreath and crossed olive-branches. This panel is given in the illustration, with one of the lower ones, representing a drum, halberts, and spear.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX (*from an engraving by H. Hondius*) 1169

THE TREATY-HOUSE, UXBRIDGE (*drawing in Sutherland collection, Bodleian Library*) 1170

BRIDGE AND BRIDGE-GATES, CHESTER, 1645 1171

A sketch made just before the siege, by Randle Holme, the third of four successive bearers of that name, whose hereditary home was in Bridge Street, Chester. The first Randle Holme was Deputy to the College of Arms for Cheshire, Shropshire, and North Wales, and was an adherent of the Parliament. His grandson, who was eighteen years old when he made this sketch, became Deputy Garter for Cheshire and North Wales under Charles II., though his devotion to the King was very doubtful. He lived till 1699. A large collection of antiquarian, genealogical and topographical MSS. relating to Cheshire was begun by his grandfather, continued by his father, himself, and his son; it now forms vols. 1920—2180 of the Harleian MSS. (British Museum). The sketch here reproduced is in vol. 2073.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF NASEBY 1172

JOHN PAULET, FIFTH MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER (*from an engraving by R. Cooper after Peter Oliver*) 1174

SMALL BRASS CANNON (*Tower of London*) 1175

One of a set given by the Armourers' Company of London to Charles I. for his son (afterwards Charles II.), to teach the boy the art of war.

"TWO UPSTART PROPHETS" 1177

From the title-page of a tract, "A discourse of the two infamous upstart prophets, Richard Farnham, weaver of White-Chappell, and John Bull, weaver of Saint Butolphs Aldgate," 1636.

JOHN LILBURNE (*print, 1649, in British Museum*) 1178

"THESE TRADESMEN ARE PREACHERS IN AND ABOUT THE CITY OF LONDON" (*broadside, 1647, in British Museum*) 1179

CHURCH AND CONVENTICLE, 1648 1181

Frontispiece to "A Glasse for the Times, by which according to the Scriptures, you may clearly behold the true Ministers of Christ, how farre differing from false Teachers. . . . Collected by T. C., a Friend to Truth," 1648.

BRISTOL CASTLE (*Millard's Map of Bristol, 1763*) 1183

The cannon on the walls show that the original drawing from which this view was copied must have been made between 1642, when the castle was put in condition for defence, and 1656, when it was dismantled.

A "PERSWASIVE" TO UNITY 1184

From a broadside, "A Pious and Seasonable Perswasive to the Sonnes of Zion, soveraignely useful for Composing their Unbrotherly Devisions," 1647.

DENZIL HOLLES (*frontispiece, by R. White, to Holles's "Memoirs," 1699*) . . . 1186

ANDERSON'S PLACE, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE 1187

The house in which Charles I. lodged.

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BLACKSMITHS, MIDDLE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Roxburghe Ballad*) 1188

COUNTRYMAN AND CITIZEN 1189
From the title-page of a tract, "The Countrymans Care, and the Citizens feare, in bringing up their Children in good Education ; set forth in a Dialogue between a Citizen and a Country-Man," 1641. The countryman is warned not to send his son to the University, because it is corrupted by Popish superstitions ; not to make him a "minister of God's word," because "you may see Coblers and Tinkers, arising from the very Dunghill, beating the Pulpits as conformably as if they were Kings professors of Divinity ;" such persons preach in barns. He is also advised not to make his son a divine, or, if he do, "he must have good care least the Archbishop doe not cut of his eares. But I will free you from that feare," adds the citizen, "for I tell once againe, there will be no more Bishops." The citizen ends by advising his friend to apprentice his son to a vintner, as the youth may thereby one day become an alderman—evidently an allusion to the career of Alderman Abel ; see above, p. lxii.

HENRY IRETON (*from an engraving by Houbraken of a miniature by S. Cooper*) . 1190

PART OF A SUIT OF GILT ARMOUR GIVEN BY THE CITY OF LONDON TO CHARLES I. (*Tower of London*) 1191

GATEWAY OF CARISBROOK CASTLE (*after J. M. W. Turner*) 1195

"THE HUMBLE PETITION OF JOCK OF BREAD" (*title-page of a tract*, 1648) . . . 1196
Jock's Petition complains of the civil war and the disturbances in Scotland, and desires a better settlement of divine worship.

SIEGE-PIECE, COLCHESTER (*British Museum*) 1198
Cut out of some article of gold plate, stamped, and used instead of coin during the siege, 1648. Silver pieces were also made in the same way.

COLCHESTER CASTLE (*after W. H. Bartlett*) 1199

TRIAL OF CHARLES I. (*Nalson, "A true Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I," 1684*) 1201
A is the King ; B, Bradshaw, President of the Court ; C, John Lisle, D, William Say, assistants to the president ; E, Andrew Broughton, F, John Phelps, clerks of the court ; G, the table, with the mace of the Commonwealth and the sword of state lying on it ; H, commissioners ; I, the achievement of the Commonwealth ; K, Cromwell ; L, Henry Martyn ; M, spectators ; N, the floor of the hall, matted and kept clear ; O, passage leading from the Court of Wards, through which the commissioners entered the hall ; P, guard attending the commissioners ; Q, guard attending the King ; R, passage railed off for the king between his seat and the stairs ; S, counsel for the Commonwealth : T, stairs ; U, passage leading to Sir R. Cotton's house, where the king was confined ; W and X, passages kept clear by soldiers ; Y, spectators ; Z, officers.

OLIVER CROMWELL (*from a contemporary Dutch print*) 1204

FRONTISPIECE TO EIKON BASILIKE, $164\frac{8}{9}$ 1207

DROGHEDA (*drawing*, c. 1680, *in British Museum*) 1209

S. LAURENCE'S GATE, DROGHEDA 1210
From a photograph. This and one other gate are the sole remnants left by Cromwell of the fortifications of Drogheda. It had once a complete circle of walls, and of gates no less than ten.

REGINALD'S TOWER, WATERFORD (*after W. H. Bartlett*) 1211
One of the two towers which alone remain of the fortifications of Waterford. The "Reginald" whose name it bears is a Danish Ragnald, ruler of the Ostmen of Waterford in the eleventh century. The present building was probably erected by the Anglo-Norman conquerors in the twelfth or early thirteenth century, on the site of an earlier fortress which may have been destroyed in the war of invasion.

CORK IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Stafford, "Pacata Hibernia," 1633*) . . 1212

DUNBAR 1214

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MEDAL FOR VICTORY OF DUNBAR, 1650 1215

On 7th Sept., 1650, the House of Commons resolved "that their special thanks be conveyed to the Lord General for his eminent services at the great victory of Dunbar, and that his Excellency be desired to return their thanks also to the officers and soldiers of the army, and that a number of gold and silver medals be distributed among them." These medals are now extremely rare; the British Museum possesses specimens of them in both metals, and from one of these the present illustration is made. The design was suggested by Cromwell himself; the representation of the House of Commons on the reverse is noticeable, as showing the same feeling as the Great Seal of the Commonwealth (see below, p. 1221), the medal of the Earl of Manchester (above, p. 1153), and some other medals of the time. The Dunbar medal was the work of Thomas Simon, the finest English medallist of the day, who was sent by the Parliament to Scotland expressly to take the "effigies, portrait or statue of the Lord General, to be placed on the medal"; and he had some difficulty in satisfying the Lord General with the likeness.

"THE SCOTS HOLDING THEIR YOUNG KING'S NOSE TO THE GRINDSTONE" (*broadside*, 1651, *in the British Museum*) 1216

CROWNING OF CHARLES II. AT SCONE 1217

From "Koninckliicke Beltenis, &c., van Karel de II.", Dordrecht, 1661. In the latter part of the seventeenth century a number of illustrations of English history are supplied by contemporary Dutch engravings; and the connexion between the two countries was so close that these engravings need not be regarded as wholly fancy pictures. In the present case the church is evidently drawn from the artist's own imagination, or from some building in which he was accustomed to worship; but its arrangement probably represents fairly that of a Presbyterian kirk of the period.

FLIGHT OF CHARLES II. FROM WORCESTER ("*Koninckliicke Beltenis*") 1218

CHARLES II. AND JANE LANE ("*Koninckliicke Beltenis*") 1219

Jane Lane acted as Charles's guide during a part of his flight in disguise after the battle of Worcester. They are here represented making their way through a troop of Roundheads, who do not recognize the fugitive.

GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 1651 . . . . . 1220, 1221

A unique design for a great seal; obverse, map of England and Ireland; reverse, the House of Commons in session. It shows the noble conception which Cromwell had of the Commonwealth, and what he desired to make it. The seal was the work of Thomas Simon, the maker of the medal for Dunbar (see above, p. 1215). The beautiful workmanship of this artist and of several of his contemporaries, and the lavish employment of them by the Government, shows that the refined taste and lofty feeling for art noticed in p. 941 as strong in the early days of Puritanism had by no means died out even in its later phases and amid the troubles of the Civil War.

LIGHT HORSEMAN, TEMP. OLIVER CROMWELL 1222

From a figure in the possession of Captain Orde Browne, who has kindly had it photographed for this book. The armour came from the Tower. The three-barred cavalry helmet, the long steel gauntlet on the left hand, the leather glove on the right, and the steel breast-piece (on the right side of which a bullet-mark is distinctly visible) formed the regular accoutrement of the light horseman under Cromwell. The dress is made up, but correct, except that there ought to be no seam across the right flap of the coat.

THE "SAMPSON," "SALVADOR," AND "ST. GEORGE" (*satirical print in British Museum*) 1223

These three ships and their cargoes were captured by the English in 1652. They were sailing under Dutch colours, but to escape confiscation they produced forged papers in Flemish and Spanish, and the ambassador of Spain claimed them for his sovereign. A London silversmith named Violet, who knew the tricks of the contraband trade through having been much engaged in it himself, discovered the vessels to be Dutch, and they and their cargoes were confiscated accordingly.

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DUTCH SATIRE ON THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT, 1652 1224

From a Dutch broadside, "Impotent ambition shown to the life in the present government of obdurate England." A satire on the results of Blake's fight with Tromp, whereby the peace between England and Holland was broken. Cromwell is trampling on the broken treaty; Hugh Peters, "once a preacher and now a colonel in London," blows into his ear with a pair of bellows decorated with three crowns, *i.e.*, advises him to assume the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland; before him stand Blake, Fairfax, and some members of Parliament. Some Levellers are presenting a petition; and some women and children are appealing to Cromwell against the pressing of their husbands and fathers as seamen for the war; the ships are seen in the distance. A dog is guarding the sceptre and crown against another dog. On the wall is a picture of Tromp as a doctor, physicking and bleeding Cromwell.

ADMIRAL MARTIN HARPENTZOON TROMP, "GRANDFATHER OF THE SAILORS" (*from an engraving by Sniderhoef, after H. Pott*) 1225

ADMIRAL DE RUYTER (*from an etching by A. Blotelingh*) 1226

ADMIRAL BLAKE (*from T. Preston's engraving, c.* 1730, *of a picture then in the possession of J. Ames*) 1227

MEDAL COMMEMORATING BLAKE'S VICTORIES, 1653 1228

By Thomas Simon. Four of these gold medals were struck by order of Parliament; two, with gold chains worth £300 each, were presented to Blake and Monk; two, with chains worth £100 each, to Admirals Penn and Lawson. The original die of the reverse is in the British Museum; the obverse is here copied from Pinkerton's "Medallic History of England."

SATIRE ON THE RUMP PARLIAMENT 1229

One of a pack of playing cards designed in the reign of Charles II., and now in the possession of Earl Nelson; here reproduced, by permission, from a facsimile issued by Messrs. Goldsmid, of Edinburgh.

SIR HARRY VANE (*picture by Sir Peter Lely, at Raby Castle*) 1230

SHAFT OF THE MACE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (*Antiquary*) 1231

In 1649 the Commons had a new mace made for their Speaker by Thomas Maunday, the best English silversmith of the day. This was the "bauble" turned out by Cromwell. At the Restoration a new head and base were fitted to Maunday's shaft; the shaft alone is therefore figured here.

CROMWELL EXPELLING THE PARLIAMENT, 1653 1232

From a satirical Dutch print, in the British Museum. Cromwell, Lambert, Cooper and Strickland are bidding the members "begone"; Harrison "lends" the Speaker "a hand to come down" (see p. 1231); near the Chair Cromwell again appears, having seized the mace, and in the act of driving out a goose with a peacock's tail. In the foreground are two dogs, one of them being evidently a caricature of the British lion, who is often satirized thus in Dutch prints of the time. The owl with spectacles, and carrying a lighted candle fixed on a collar round its neck, is a detail frequently introduced in Dutch satirical compositions of this period. It occurs in a picture by Jan Steen, now in the Rijks-Museum at Amsterdam (No. † 1379), where the painter has added the motto, in minute characters, as follows:

"Wat baeten Kaers of Bril
Als den Uil niet sien wil."

i.e. "Of what use are candle or spectacles when the owl will not see?"

A ROPER AND A CORDWAINER 1236

A POTTER 1236

A TAILOR 1237

A SHOEMAKER 1237

A BLACKSMITH 1238

A SPECTACLE-MAKER 1238

PAPER-MAKERS 1239

A BOOK-BINDER 1239

These eight illustrations are from the English edition, by Charles Hoole, published in 1659, of Comenius's (or Komensky's) "Orbis sensualium pictus."

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THE EXCHANGE, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE (*Brand, "History of Newcastle"*) . . . 1240
Built 1655–1658.

WHITE HART INN, SCOLE, NORFOLK (*Richardson, "Studies from Old English Mansions"*) 1241

Built in 1655 by John Peck, a merchant of Norwich. The sign, of carved oak, was the work of John Fairchild; it was taken down early in the present century, and is restored in Richardson's engraving from a drawing made by J. Kirby in 1740, and preserved in the inn. This sign, 35 feet long, and 33 feet high, had in the middle a pendent figure of a White Hart with the shield of Peck hanging from its neck, a Latin motto taken from Virgil, "They are filled with old wine and rich flour," and the date, "Anno Dom. 1655." On the two sides of the post supporting the end of the sign were figures of Cerberus and of Charon in his boat; the corbel supporting the post against the wall was carved with Jonah issuing from the whale's mouth. The middle part of the cornice represented the story of Diana and Actæon, in figures as large as life, and with another Latin inscription, "Time, the devourer of all things, Diana. I am Actæon; recognise your master." The other decorations comprised figures of Saturn supporting a weather-cock, Neptune on a dolphin, Bacchus on a wine-barrel, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, a shepherd, and a huntsman; crowning the whole was an astronomer seated on a circumferentor, and so constructed that in fine weather he faced the north, and in bad weather the quarter whence a change was about to come. The mythological and fantastic character of the whole design is, considering its date, even more remarkable than its elaborate workmanship, and shows very strikingly how much of the Renascence influence, noticed in pp. 941 and 947 as strong in the early days of Puritanism, had lingered on even into its later and sterner period.

"THE ROYALL OAKE OF BRITTAYNE" (*satirical print in British Museum*) . . . 1244

Cromwell, standing on "a slippery place," above the mouth of Hell, and beneath the avenging fires, "late but determined," of Heaven, directs the cutting down of the Royal Oak, which represents the English constitution. Monarchy ("Eikon Basilike"), Religion (the Bible), Liberty ("Magna Charta"), Law and Order ("Statutes" and "Reportes"), hang on its branches and fall with it. A group of men gather up the fallen boughs; some swine, "fatted for slaughter," represent the common people in whose interest this destruction is nominally wrought, and who are destined to be its real victims.

SECOND GREAT SEAL OF PROTECTOR OLIVER, 1655–8 . . . . . 1246, 1247

By Thomas Simon. The royal arms and the map of England and Ireland have here given place to a heraldic design composed of the emblems of England, Scotland, and Ireland (the crosses of S. George and S. Andrew, and the harp); a griffin takes the place of the unicorn as dexter supporter, as it had done for some years past on the seals of the Lord Chief Justices of England; beneath is Cromwell's motto, "Peace is sought through war." On the reverse is Cromwell on horseback, a striking contrast to Charles I. in p. 1140. The shield behind him is the same as that on the obverse of the seal, but it has in the middle an escutcheon of pretence charged with the arms of Cromwell.

SATIRE ON THE EARL OF ARGYLE AND THE SCOTCH PRESBYTERIANS (*Messrs. Goldsmid's facsimile of playing-card in the possession of Earl Nelson*) 1249

A STREET IN GALWAY (*after W. H. Bartlett*) 1250

The house on the right, known as Lynch's mansion, was the residence of Thomas Lynch FitzAmbrose, mayor of Galway, who was driven out as a Catholic by Cromwell in 1654. Since Bartlett's drawing was made the lower part of this house has been altered, and the house facing it has been pulled down; both are given here as illustrations of the Saracenic character noticeable in the architecture of many old buildings in Galway, and doubtless due to the intercourse with Spain which was a chief source of the commercial prosperity of the town. The Lynches were the most illustrious of the families known as the "tribes of Galway," from the fidelity with which they stood together in their resistance to Cromwell. The first recorded provost of Galway was Thomas "de Lince," in 1274; the last was John Lynche Fitz Edmund, in 1285; the first mayor was Pierce Lynche, in the same year. The chief

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magistracy of the city, under the various titles of Provost, Sovereign, and Mayor, was held by a Lynch ninety-four times between 1274 and 1654. The mansion was probably built late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century. On its front are sculptured the arms of the Lynch family, with their crest, a lynx; and also a group representing a monkey and a child, in allusion to a story that when the house was on fire a child of the family had been saved by a pet monkey.

IRISH MAN AND WOMAN (*Hollar's Map of Ireland*, 1653) 1251

AN IRISH MILKMAID 1251

Reproduced, by permission, from facsimile published by the Kilkenny Archæological Society (now the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland) of a drawing in Thomas Dineley's (or Dingley's), MS. "Tour through Ireland," 1681.

FACSIMILES OF IRISH MSS., A.D. 1634–1650 1252

These facsimiles, from Professor O'Curry's "Lectures on Materials for Irish History," are given in continuation of the series begun in p. 909. After the Elizabethan conquest the national literature almost died out for a time. After a few years of quiet it sprung however into new life. First Keating, parish priest of Tubrid near Clonmel, compiled, about 1626–30, a history of Erinn from the earliest times to 1170. This work, written among the caves and rocks of the Galtee mountains where the author was hiding from a local tyrant, is still of value, as much of it is derived from original sources which are now lost. Of Keating's own MS. however no trace now exists.

The first specimen here given is from the original MS., preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, of the Annals of the Four Masters. It consists of the opening paragraph of the dedication: "I beseech God to bestow every happiness that may conduce to the welfare of his body and soul upon Fearghal O'Gara, Lord of Magh-Ui-Gadhra and Cuil O bh—Finn, one of the two knights of Parliament who were elected and sent from the County of Sligo to Dublin, this year of grace 1634"—*i.e.*, the famous Parliament summoned by Wentworth; see p. 1084. It is in the handwriting of Michael O'Clery, the chief of the "Four Masters" by whom the work was compiled, and from whom it derives its name. He thus tells his own story, and that of his book: "I, Michael O'Clery, a poor Friar of the Order of S. Francis, have come before you, O noble Fearghal O'Gara. I have calculated on your honour that it seemed to you a cause of pity and regret, grief and sorrow (for the glory of God and the honour of Ireland), how much the race of Gaedhil the son of Niul have passed under a cloud of darkness, without a knowledge or record of the death or obit of saint or virgin, archbishop, bishop, abbot, or other noble dignitary of the Church, of king or of prince, of lord or of chieftain, or of the synchronism or connexion of the one with the other. I explained to you that I thought I could get the assistance of the chroniclers for whom I had most esteem, in writing a book of Annals in which these matters might be put on record; and that, should the writing of them be neglected at present, they would not again be found to be put on record or commemorated, even to the end of the world. There were collected by me all the best and most copious books of annals that I could find throughout all Ireland (though it was difficult for me to collect them to one place), to write this book in your name, and to your honour; for it was you that gave the reward of their labour to the chroniclers by whom it was written; and it was the Friars of the convent of Donegal that supplied them with food and attendance."

The second facsimile is from the same MS., and gives the signature of Michael O'Clery, appended to the dedication.

The third is from a MS. (H. i. 18) in Trinity College, Dublin, the *Chronicon Scotorum*, an abstract of early Irish history down to the year 1135, in the fine bold autograph of the compiler, Duald Mac Firbis. This man was the last of a long line of historians and scholars whose ancestral home was at Lecain, in county Sligo. In 1650 he seems to have finished the compilation of his two principal works, the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and a book of pedigrees of Irish families. In 1670, when over eighty years of age, he was murdered at Dunflin by a personal enemy who felt himself secure from punishment, his victim being under the ban of the penal laws. Mac Firbis was, says Professor O'Curry, "the last of the

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regularly educated and most accomplished masters of the history, antiquities, laws and language of ancient Erinn." Under the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland the traditional Irish scholarship, which had struggled so long and so hard for existence, at last died out. Our own age has witnessed its revival.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU (*picture by P. de Champaigne, in the National Gallery*) . . 1255

MAP OF EUROPE IN 1648 1256

AUTOGRAPH NOTE OF OLIVER CROMWELL (*India Office*) 1258
Scrawled, with characteristic blots, on a petition of the East India Company, November 1657.

TETBURY MARKET-PLACE (*from an old drawing*) 1260
The market-house here shown was built in 1655. It was demolished in 1750, and replaced by one in a very different style of architecture.

THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL (*after W. Hollar*) 1264
Robert, Earl of Warwick, named by Parliament to the command of the fleet in 1642 (see p. 1139), carried, as Lord High Admiral, the sword of state at the inauguration of Oliver Cromwell as Protector.

WHITEHALL FROM THE RIVER (*after W. Hollar*) 1265
Whitehall, built by Wolsey (see p. 635), passed at his fall into the hands of Henry VIII., and became the usual London residence of later sovereigns, by whom it was much altered. Oliver Cromwell took up his abode there as Protector.

"THE HORRIBLE TAIL-MAN" (*Dutch satire, 1658, in British Museum*) 1266
Cromwell receives from Fairfax three crowns; "Adm. Black" (Blake) and some members of Parliament stand by. Cromwell has a long serpent-like tail, composed of the coin of the Commonwealth, of which a Zealander ("Zeeuw"), a Hollander, a Frisian ("Fries"), an Irishman ("Yer") with a knife, Prince Rupert ("Prins Robbert"), a Scot (with a sword), and a Royalist ("Conings-man") are all trying to seize shares.

A PARTY AT THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE'S HOUSE 1268
Frontispiece to "Nature's Pictures," by Margaret Duchess of Newcastle, 1656. The two persons crowned with laurel are the authoress and her husband the Duke, whose portrait is in p. 1137.

SATIRE ON RICHARD CROMWELL (*Dutch broadside in British Museum*) 1272
Richard Cromwell, dressed as a cooper, with a mallet breaks up a cask from which issue a number of owls bearing candles and crying "King" as they fly away. "Pickleherring," a Fool, lifts up his hands in amazement at Richard's folly. On the wall is a picture of the Frogs and their King Stork (Oliver), and another of a State proclamation (evidently meant for that of King Log, *i.e.*, Charles II.) taking place in the courtyard of a house, above the door of which is the shield of the Commonwealth. The broadside has verses in French and German, explaining the print and ending with the fable of the Frogs and their King.

GENERAL MONK (*miniature by S. Cooper at Windsor Castle*) 1274

GENERAL LAMBERT (*from an old print*) 1275

CHARLES II. EMBARKING FOR ENGLAND ("*Koninclijcke Beltenis van Karel II*," 1660) 1276

ENTRY OF CHARLES II. INTO LONDON (*from the same*) 1277

BANQUET AT WHITEHALL (*from the same*) 1278

MONUMENT OF JOHN DONNE 1280
In S. Paul's Cathedral. The inscription runs: "After the various studies to which from his earliest years he devoted himself faithfully and not unsuccess-fully, by the inspiration and impulse of the Holy Spirit and on the advice and exhortation of King James he embraced holy orders in the year of his beloved Jesus 1614, and of his own age 42. He was invested with the deanery of this Church 27 November 1621, and divested of it by death on the last day of March 1631. Here, though in decaying ashes, he looks for Him whose Name is the Dayspring." A striking proof of the popularity of Donne as a poet is afforded by the fact that nineteen of his poems were translated into

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Dutch by Constantijn Huygens, father of the illustrious Christiaan Huygens the philosopher. The poems were sent to him by some English friends in 1630, and are included in the complete edition of his works (Groningen, 1892–3). The monument, of very fine workmanship, is one of the very few in S. Paul's that escaped destruction in the Great Fire. Within the present century it has been restored to its original upright position, but the niche in which it now stands is smaller than that which it occupied before the Fire. It is here engraved from a drawing specially made for this book.

JOHN MILTON (*frontispiece, engraved by W. Faithorne, to Milton's "History of Britain," 1670*) 1281

MILTON'S COTTAGE AT CHALFONT ST. GILES, BUCKS 1282
"Paradise Lost" was finished and "Paradise Regained" projected in this cottage, to which Milton withdrew for a short time in 1665 to escape the plague that had broken out in London. It is the only one of Milton's various dwelling-places still existing.

CROWN-PIECE DESIGNED BY THOMAS SIMON (*Mint Museum*) 1285
Simon, the greatest English medallist, was chief engraver of the Mint from 1646 till the Restoration (examples of his work have been given in pp. 1215, 1221, 1228, 1246, 1247). After the accession of Charles a Dutchman, Roettier, was appointed assistant engraver, and both artists made pattern pieces for the new coinage. "For the honour of our countrymen," writes Evelyn, "I cannot here omit that ingenious trial of skill which a commendable emulation has produced in a medal performed with extraordinary accuracy by one who, having been deservedly employed in the Mint at the Tower, was not willing to be supplanted by foreign competitors." Simon's magnificent crown-piece has on its obverse a bust of Charles, with the words "Carolus Dei Gra." ("Charles, by the grace of God—") and the artist's signature; on the reverse are four crowned escutcheons of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France, arranged in the form of a cross, with St. George and the Garter in the middle, and two interlaced C's in each angle, and surrounded by the continuation of the legend, "Mag. Bri. Fr. et Hib. Rex. 1663." On the edge, in two lines, is engraved Simon's petition: "Thomas . Simon . most . humbly . prays . your . Majesty . to . compare . this . his . tryall . piece . with . the . Dutch . and . if . more . truly . drawn . and . embossed . more . gracefully . ordered . and . more . accurately . engraven . to . relieve . him . " To this fine piece of work Charles preferred the very inferior design of Roettier, ordered him to make the new dies, and soon afterwards appointed him chief engraver to the Mint instead of Simon, who was made engraver of royal seals, an office which he continued to hold during the rest of his life.

AMPULLA OR ANOINTING CRUSE 1286
In the form of an eagle. English work of the seventeenth century; probably made for the coronation of Charles II.; (now among the Regalia in the Tower). The anointing was a peculiarly sacred ceremony, used in the earliest times only for the Kings of England, France, Jerusalem, and Sicily; in later days the Kings of Scotland obtained the privilege of anointing by special grant from the Pope. The English Kings were anointed not with mere holy oil, but with a specially prepared cream which was consecrated by the Primate or by some bishop deputed by him. The cream used for anointing Charles I. was thus consecrated by Laud, who was then Bishop of St. David's.

CHARLES II. (*illumination in letters patent, Q.R. Miscell. Books* 118, *Public Record Office*) . . . . . *to face p.* 1286

SATIRE ON THE PURITANS, TEMP. CHARLES II. (*Messrs. Goldsmid's facsimile of playing-cards in the possession of Earl Nelson*) . 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292

MONUMENT OF "DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR" 1294
Robert Burton, author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy," assumed this name, professing himself an imitator of the old Greek philosopher. Born in 1577, he became vicar of S. Thomas's Church, Oxford, in 1616, rector of Segrave in Leicester-hire about 1630, and kept both livings "with much ado to his dying day." The "Anatomy" was published in 1621; "I write of melancholy," he says, "by being busy to avoid melancholy." According to his epitaph, "Known to few, unknown to yet fewer, here lies Democritus

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Junior, to whom Melancholy gave both life and death." He died almost at the exact time which he had foretold some years before by the calculation of his nativity. This calculation was placed on the monument erected by his brother above his grave in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. An enlarged copy of the horoscope is given at the corner of the engraving, copied from Nichols's "History of Leicestershire."

ELIAS ASHMOLE, WINDSOR HERALD, AND WILLIAM DUGDALE, NORROY KING OF ARMS (*Sandford, "Funeral of the Duke of Albemarle,"* 1670) 1295

Elias Ashmole, born 1617, was named a commissioner of excise in 1644 by Charles I., to whom he adhered throughout the civil war. At the Restoration he was rewarded with the office of Windsor Herald, from which he retired in 1672. He was considered "the greatest virtuoso and curioso that ever was known or read of in England before his time." In 1682 he presented to the University of Oxford a collection of curiosities, natural and antiquarian, chiefly left to him by his friend John Tradescant, keeper of the Botanic Garden at Chelsea, which formed the nucleus of the Ashmolean Museum. He also bequeathed to the University a number of valuable MSS., now in the Bodleian Library.

William Dugdale, famous as the compiler of the "Monasticon Anglicanum," "History of Warwickshire," "Baronage of England," and other valuable historical works, was born in 1605, appointed Blanch Lyon pursuivant extraordinary in 1638, Rouge Croix pursuivant 1639, and Chester Herald 1644. During the early part of the civil war he was constantly in attendance on the King or employed in delivering royal warrants; his estates were in consequence sequestrated by the Parliament. On 10 May, 1660, he, of his own accord, proclaimed Charles II. at Coleshill: a month later his loyalty was rewarded with the office of Norroy King of Arms; in 1677 he was knighted and promoted to be Garter King of Arms; he died in 1686.

Ashmole and Dugdale are here represented as they appeared at the public funeral of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, in 1670. Ashmole, as Windsor Herald, carried in the procession the Duke's target, or escutcheon, surrounded by the ribbon of the Garter; Dugdale, as Norroy, carried the Duke's sword. Francis Sandford, who compiled and illustrated the account of the ceremony from which these figures are taken, was himself present in the official capacity of Rouge Dragon pursuivant.

WILLIAM HARVEY (*from J. Hall's engraving of a picture by Cornelis Janssen at the Royal College of Physicians, London*) 1298

JOHN WILKINS (*from Blooteling's engraving of a picture by Mrs. Beale*) 1297

Wilkins became Bishop of Chester in 1668.

JOHN WALLIS (*portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller, painted for Samuel Pepys; now in the Bodleian Library*) 1298

John Wallis was born at Ashford in Kent on the 23rd November, 1616. At the age of sixteen he proceeded to Emmanuel College in Cambridge, was later made fellow of Queens', and took orders. In the Civil War he joined the side of the Parliament, and served his party by deciphering intercepted despatches. In 1649 he was appointed Savilian professor of Geometry at Oxford by the Parliamentary visitors. His political opinions, however, afterwards underwent a change, and he was enabled to employ the same talent for decipherment in the interests of the Royalists. Accordingly at the Restoration he was confirmed in his appointment, and made one of the Royal chaplains. He died on the 28th October, 1703. Wallis's principal works as a mathematician are his "Arithmetica Infinitorum" (published in 1655), "Mathesis Universalis" (1657), the treatise on Mechanics (1669–1671), and the treatise on Algebra (1685). Historically considered he is the immediate predecessor of Newton, and his power of generalization, in which he surpassed all preceding mathematicians, enabled him to anticipate many of the results if not the actual processes of the Integral Calculus. For instance, "The Binomial Theorem was a corollary of the results of Wallis on the quadrature of curves, the sagacity of Newton supplying that general mode of expression which it is extraordinary that Wallis should have missed."

The portrait of Wallis was commissioned by Pepys, as he says, "to be lodged as an humble present of mine, though a Cambridge man, to my dear

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Aunt, the University of Oxford." Kneller went to Oxford specially to paint it. Writing to Pepys he says: "And I can show I never did a better picture, nor so good a one, in my life, which is the opinion of all as has seen it." The solemn thanks of the University were returned to Pepys for his munificence on October 30th, 1702.

JOHN FLAMSTEED (*portrait by Gibson, in the possession of the Royal Society*) . . . 1299

John Flamsteed was born at Denby, near Derby, on the 19th August, 1646. In 1669 he made an astronomical contribution to the Royal Society, and from this time forward his reputation increased, until, when Charles II. founded an Observatory, he was appointed astronomer royal or "astronomical observator." He began his residence at the Observatory in 1676. From this time until his death in 1719 he was unceasingly occupied in amassing the observations afterwards published in his "Historia Cœlestis." Flamsteed has been called not inaptly "Tycho Brahe with a telescope," and his observations form the starting-point and foundation of modern astronomy.

SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE BRACHYSTOCHRONE OR CURVE OF QUICKEST DESCENT BY NEWTON 1300

This problem was proposed for solution to the mathematicians *qui toto orbe florent* by the celebrated John Bernoulli in the *Acta Eruditorum*, January, 1697. It was required to determine the curve in which a body would descend in the quickest time from one given point to another. On the day after he received the problem Newton sent the solution to Mr. Charles Montague, the President of the Royal Society. He announced that the curve was a cycloid, and gave a method of determining it. Bernoulli had allowed six months for the solution of the problem; but Leibniz, who also produced a solution, begged that the period might be extended to twelve months, which Bernoulli readily granted. When the solutions were sent in, one of them (Newton's) was anonymous; but Bernoulli recognised the author, as he said, *tamquam ex ungue leonem*—"as a lion from his claw."

SIGNATURES OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, ATTACHED TO THE CHARTER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY, 1663 1301

We have a contemporary notice of the signing of the charter-book by the King in a letter from R. Moray to Christiaan Huygens, dated 20th January, 1665 ("Œuvres Complètes de Christiaan Huygens," *p.* 215).

> "Seulement faut il que je vous die que le Roy a signé son nom dans nostre liure de cette façon.
>
> "*Charles R.* et au dessous *Founder*, Son Altesse Royale *James*, et plus bas *Fellow*.
>
> "Monsieur le prince Royal *Rupert* et plus bas *Fellow*, aussi."

The King and the Duke of York signed their names on the 9th January, 1665, and the book was produced at the meeting of the Society which took place on the 11th of the same month.

THE OLD OBSERVING-ROOM, GREENWICH 1302

Reproduced, by the kind permission of the Astronomer Royal, from a volume of Views of Greenwich Observatory preserved there. The original engravings appear to have been made by Flamsteed's directions to illustrate his "Historia Cœlestis"; that work, however, was not published till after his death, and his executors apparently omitted the illustrations. The Observatory was built by Sir Christopher Wren; he unfortunately fixed it a little askew to the meridian, and has thus much troubled astronomers. The back part of the building consists of a very large octagonal room, with windows from floor to ceiling on every side, so as to give openings for the telescope to be set towards any part of the heavens. This view gives an exact representation of the room as it was in Flamsteed's day, with the three original "observers" at their work—Flamsteed himself, his one paid assistant, and a friend, Marsh, who gave him his help. From the imperfection of scientific instruments at that time, observations could only be taken by means of telescopes of immense length; one of these is here shown, supported in a primitive manner on the rung of a ladder to give it the right elevation, and stuck out through the window of the room.

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SIR ISAAC NEWTON (*from J. Smith's engraving of a picture by Sir G. Kneller*) . 1303

WOOLSTHORPE HOUSE, LINCOLNSHIRE 1304
The birthplace of Isaac Newton.

CAST OF THE HEAD OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON (*in the possession of the Royal Society*) 1305

JOHN HALES (*frontispiece to his "Tracts," 1677*) 1306

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH (*from an engraving by F. Kyte*) 1307

JEREMY TAYLOR (*from an engraving by P. Lombart*) 1308

THOMAS HOBBES (*from a picture by Michael Wright, in the National Portrait Gallery*) 1311

TITLE-PAGE OF HOBBES'S "LEVIATHAN," 1651 1312

JOHN LOCKE (*from G. Vertue's engraving of a picture by Kneller*) 1315

A GAME OF TENNIS (*English edition, 1659, of Comenius's "Orbis sensualium pictus"*) 1316

"BOYES SPORTS" (*from the same*) 1317

MACE OF THE BAILIFF OF JERSEY 1318, 1319
The present Bailiff of Jersey has kindly caused this mace, of which no reproduction has ever before been made, to be photographed specially for this book. It bears a Latin inscription which may be thus translated: "All are not esteemed worthy of such honour. Charles II., the most serene King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, desired that his royal affection towards the island of Jersey, where he twice found a refuge when he was shut out of his other dominions, should be displayed to posterity by this truly regal memorial. He therefore bade that it should henceforth be carried before the Bailiffs, in memory of the fidelity preserved towards his august father Charles I., as well as to himself, by the illustrious knights Philip and George Casteret, bailiffs and royal prefects of this island." Charles further granted to Jersey a charter with a special clause allowing "for the great constancy, fidelity and loyalty which the bailiffs and jurats and all other inhabitants of the said island have shown to us and our predecessors," the bailiff for all future time to have a mace carried before him.

STABLES AT MARPLE HALL, CHESHIRE 1321
Marple Hall was the seat of the Bradshaw family. The house was built, c. 1658, by Colonel Henry Bradshaw, elder brother of John Bradshaw the regicide; the stables are dated 1669. This engraving is kindly lent by Mr. Earwaker from his "East Cheshire."

A BISHOP, TEMP. CHARLES II. (*after W. Hollar*) 1322

A JUDGE, TEMP. CHARLES II. (*after W. Hollar*) 1323

TITLE-PAGE TO BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, LONDON, 1662 1325

MITRE OF BISHOP WREN, 1660–1667 1326
Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely 1638, imprisoned by order of Parliament 1640, released and restored to his see 1660, built and endowed in 1663 a new chapel at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he had formerly studied. In 1667 he died, and was buried in the chapel, where his mitre (here reproduced from a photograph, taken specially for this book) is now preserved. It is of English workmanship, silver-gilt, with repoussé decorations; its height is 11½ in., its diameter 7½ in. Fitting into it is a cap of crimson satin lined with white silk, and the state of this lining shows that the mitre had been not merely fitted on but worn—a proof that, contrary to a view which has been frequently asserted, such episcopal ornaments were not merely treasured by the bishops of the Restoration for their intrinsic value or their artistic beauty, but actually used, by some prelates at least, as part of their ecclesiastical attire.

MACE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (*Antiquary*) 1327
Maunday's shaft of 1649 (see above, p. 1231), with a new head and base made in 1660.

EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON (*from an original engraving by David Loggan*) 1329

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ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER (*painting by Sir Peter Lely, in possession of the Earl of Shaftesbury*) 1330

S. MARGARET'S CHURCH, WESTMINSTER, 1692-1721 1332
From a rare print by J. Brock. It shows the east window dated 1692, which was removed in 1721; the altar and reredos as they existed at the same period; several old monuments, now gone, on the north side; the pew of the Speaker of the Commons, in its original position; and a striking example of the arrangement of clerk's desk, reading desk, and pulpit common in the last century, and vulgarly known as a "three-decker."

THE HERETICAL SYNOD AT SALTERS' HALL 1334
The meeting-house adjoining (and originally forming part of) Salters' Hall, Walbrook, was first used by a Presbyterian congregation, c. 1690. In 1710 an assembly of ministers was held there to consider what steps should be taken respecting the spread of Arian opinions. A proposal that all members should be required to subscribe a declaration of Trinitarian faith led to a very stormy discussion, and as no conclusion was arrived at, the affair gave rise to a good deal of satire, of which the print here reproduced is probably an example. It shows the end of the chapel occupied by the pulpit, with sounding-board above and reading-desk below; in a pew directly under these, and facing the same way, sit "The Four Moderators." Four men facing them say, "We are for no Impositions"; one of a group in the gallery calls out to the crowd below, "All you that are for the Trinity come up, we have subscribed"; one of two men in the fore-ground says, "For or against the Trinity, beloved?" the other, who has two faces, holds in one hand a paper inscribed "As my principles," and in the other a second paper, "For my interest."

A NONCONFORMIST MINISTER, LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Tempest's Cries "of London"*) 1335
Fifty plates, representing the "Cries of the City of London," were engraved and published in 1688 by Pierce Tempest after drawings by Marcel Lauron, or Laroon. Later editions were issued, with additional plates, either by Laroon (who died 1702) or by his son. All are extremely rare. The copy in the British Museum, from which these illustrations are taken, dates from 1711.

A QUAKERS' MEETING, LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*satirical print, probably by Marcel Lauron, in the British Museum*) 1337

RICHARD BAXTER (*picture by J. Riley, in Dr. Williams's Library, London*) . . 1338

"THE HEBREW ALPHABET WRIT BY GEORGE FOX THE PROTO QUAKER" . . 1339
Attached to a page of notes on the Old Testament, part of which is in the handwriting of George Fox; now among the historical autographs in the British Museum.

BUNYAN'S MEETING-HOUSE, ZOAR STREET, GRAVEL LANE, SOUTHWARK. . . 1340
From "Londina Illustrata," 1819. Three Protestant Nonconformist gentlemen, named Mallet, Warburton and Holland, profited by the Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 to build this chapel, with a school-room attached, at a cost of £360. It came to be known as "Bunyan's Meeting-house"; but Bunyan cannot have preached in it more than once, on his last visit to London, as he died within sixteen months after the purchase of the ground on which it was built.

GRAVEL LANE CHARITY SCHOOL. 1342
The school-room connected with, and under a part of, Bunyan's Meeting-house; opened by the founders of the Meeting-house, in 1687, to counteract the attractions of a Roman Catholic school which a gentleman named Poulter had set up in the same neighbourhood under James's protection. This early Nonconformist Charity School was still carrying on its work in the original school-room in the year 1819, as is shown by the dress of its scholars in this illustration, reproduced from "Londina Illustrata."

BUNYAN'S DREAM (*frontispiece to 4th edition of "Pilgrim's Progress,"* 1680). . . 1345

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BABYLONIAN STONE FOUND IN LONDON (*British Museum*) 1345

Three black diorite stones, with strange figures and letters, were found early in 1891 by workmen digging foundations for a house in Knightrider Street, London. These proved to be Babylonian stones ; one of them dating from c. 1200 or 1300 B.C., another from c. 4500 B.C., and the third from c. 4000 B.C., The first seems to have been a boundary stone, the second had been used as part of a holy-water basin, and the third, which is here figured, had been made to serve as a door-socket. It bears a cuneiform inscription which states that it was dedicated to the god Nina. Knightrider Street and its neighbourhood were the favourite abode of Dutch merchants in the time of Charles II. Along with the stones were found some Dutch tiles of the seventeenth century. It has therefore been supposed that these Chaldean relics were brought, either as ballast or as curiosities, to London with other goods from the Persian Gulf, where Holland had a great trade, and lay in the Dutch counting-house till the fire of 1666, when they and the tiles were alike buried in the ruins.

STERN OF THE "ROYAL CHARLES" 1346

A part of the stern of this ship, bearing the arms of England, has been preserved as a relic in the Museum at Amsterdam, with an inscription which may be thus translated: "These arms adorned the 'Royal Charles,' of a hundred guns, the largest ship of the English Navy, conquered with other ships in the glorious expedition on the river of Rochester in the year 1667, under the command of Lieutenant Admiral M. A. de Ruyter and the Ruwaard" (an old Dutch word for "governor") "C. de Wit, brought into the Meuse the same year, and broken up at Hellevoetsluis in the year 1673." A contemporary engraving of the ship was made which is in the Amsterdam Museum, and has been photographed specially for this book.

FIGHT BETWEEN MONK AND DE RUYTER, 1666 (*from a very rare contemporary Dutch print, in the British Museum*) 1347

FACSIMILE OF AN ADVERTISEMENT IN THE "INTELLIGENCER," APRIL 24, 1666 . 1348

In which Charles announces that he will no longer touch for the King's Evil for fear of the infection of the Plague.

UNFINISHED TAPESTRY-WORK SAVED FROM THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON, 1666 (*Guildhall Museum*) 1348

Found in a house in Cheapside.

THE MAGAZINE AT SHEERNESS BURNT BY THE DUTCH, 1667 (*contemporary Dutch print in British Museum*) 1349

THE "ROYAL CHARLES" 1350

From a picture by Storch, in the Museum at Amsterdam ; photographed specially for this book. The picture bears a Latin inscription which, literally translated, runs thus : "The representation most accurately painted of this, once the British flagship, which stood as a memorial, first of the conquered King Charles I. and the royal army defeated at Naseby ; then of the return of King Charles II. to his own realm (after whose name it was called the Royal Charles) ; and lastly—taken by the Dutch in Britain itself—of a gigantic victory and also of peace keenly desired,—is dedicated to Cornelis de Witt, commander of the whole Belgic fleet, and the Dutch conqueror, and to his children after him as an incitement to the valour of their father and forefather."

WATCH (*South Kensington Museum*) 1351

Of seventeenth century workmanship, with an engraved brass face, and a double silver case, on the inside of which are the words "Edmund Bull, Fleet Street, fecit."

CHARLES II. (*miniature by Samuel Cooper, at Windsor Castle*) 1352

NELL GWYNNE (*picture by Lely, in the collection of Earl Spencer, at Althorpe*) . . 1354

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JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH, WHEN A CHILD (*miniature by S. Cooper, at Windsor Castle*) 1355

HEAD-PIECE TO THE FORM OF THANKSGIVING FOR THE KING'S RESTORATION (*Book of Common Prayer*, 1662) 1356

JOHN MAITLAND, EARL AND DUKE OF LAUDERDALE (*picture by Vandyck, at Ham House*) 1358

JAMES BUTLER, FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND (*from an engraving by Scriven, after a picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller*) 1360

WREN'S ORIGINAL DESIGN FOR S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL 1362

From a drawing, made specially for this book, of Wren's model preserved in the present cathedral. Its story is thus told by Allan Cunningham: "The form of the classic temple he [Wren] imagined suited the reformed worship best, being compact and simple without long aisles, our religion not using processions like that of Rome; he accordingly planned a church of moderate size, of good proportion; a convenient choir with a vestibule and porticos and a dome conspicuous above the houses. . . . Much as this plan was approved, it was nevertheless one of those which he sketched 'merely,' as he said, 'for discourse sake'; he had bestowed his study upon two designs both of which he liked; though one of them he preferred, and justly, above the other. The ground plans of both were in the form of the cross; that which pleased Charles, the Duke of York, and the Courtiers, retained the primitive figure with all its sharp advancing and receding angles; the one after Wren's own heart substituted curves for these deep indentations, by which one unbroken and beautiful winding line was obtained for the exterior, while the interior accommodation which it afforded, and the elegance which it introduced. were such as must have struck every beholder. . . . But if we may credit Spence, taste had no share in deciding the choice of the design. He says, on the authority of Harding, that the Duke of York and his party influenced all; the future king even then contemplated the revival of the Popish service, and desired to have a cathedral with long aisles for the sake of its processions. This not only caused the rejection of Wren's favourite design, but materially affected the other which was approved. The side oratories were proposed by the Duke, and though this narrowed the building and broke much in upon the breadth and harmony of the interior elevation, and though it was resisted by Wren even to tears, all was in vain—the architect was obliged to comply." (Allan Cunningham, "Lives of the most eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects," iv. pp. 205-207).

THE COMTE D'ESTRADES, AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE TO ENGLAND, 1661 (*Jusserand, "A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II.," from an engraving by Etienne Picart*) 1364

DUNKIRK (*Dutch print, 17th or 18th century*) 1365

PLENIPOTENTIARIES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND HOLLAND SIGNING THE TREATY OF BREDA (*Dutch print in British Museum*) 1368

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE (*picture by Sir Peter Lely, in the National Portrait Gallery*) 1370

HUGUES DE LIONNE, FOREIGN SECRETARY TO LEWIS XIV. (*Jusserand, "A French Ambassador," from an engraving by N. de Larmessin*, 1664) 1371

TWO "DRUMMS AND A FIFE, AND THE DRUMME MAJOR" (*Sandford, "Funeral of the Duke of Albemarle,"* 1670) 1373

FUNERAL CAR OF GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE (*from the same*) . . . 1374

TWO OF "HIS GRACE'S WATERMEN" / TWO MASTERS OF THE CHANCERY } (*from the same*) 1375

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, LEYDEN (*from a Dutch engraving*, 1610, *after J. C. Woudanus*) 1376

FIGHT WITH THE DUTCH IN SOLEBAY, JUNE 7, 1672 (*from a contemporary Dutch print, in the British Museum*) 1378

BARBARA PALMER, COUNTESS OF CASTLEMAINE AND DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND (*from an engraving by W. Sherwin*, 1670) 1380

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HUNTSMEN, LATE 17TH OR EARLY 18TH CENTURY (*Roxburghe Ballad*) 1382

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY (*miniature by S. Cooper, in the possession of the Earl of Shaftesbury*) 1384

GRESHAM HOUSE, AFTERWARDS GRESHAM COLLEGE (*Burgon's "Life of Gresham," from Vertue's engraving*, 1739) 1386

In Bishopsgate Street, London; built by Sir Thomas Gresham, for his own residence, in 1563-6. At the death of his widow, in 1596, the house and the rents arising from the Royal Exchange both passed by his will into the hands of the Corporation of London and the Mercers' Company as trustees, for the endowment of a college. Seven professors, with a salary of £50 a year each, were to have rooms in the house and to deliver free lectures, one on every day of the week, on divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric. The first seven professors were appointed early in 1597; three came from Oxford, three from Cambridge; the professor of music, Dr. Bull, was a graduate of both Universities and was nominated by the queen. Next year it was ordained that each lecture should be delivered twice; at 8 A.M. in Latin, because it was thought "very likely that diverse strangers of forreign countries, who resort to Gresham College, and understand not the English tongue, will greatly desire to hear the reading of the said lectures, whereby the memory of the said founder in the erecting of the said college for the encrease of learning may be divulged, to the good exsample of forreign nations, and the honour and credit of this honourable city"; and at 2 P.M. in English. Dr. Bull was excused the Latin lecture, because he was not a classical scholar. The meetings of the Royal Society were held at the College till the Great Fire; after that the College was used as an Exchange for seven years (while a new Exchange was being built), and the Royal Society removed to Arundel House in the Strand; thence they returned to the College in 1673. In 1710 they bought a house in Crane Court, Fleet Street, which they occupied till 1780, when the Government gave them rooms in Somerset House; these were exchanged in 1857 for apartments in Burlington House, Piccadilly. In 1768 the College was pulled down, and the lectures transferred to a room over the Royal Exchange; after the destruction of this building in 1838 they were given in the theatre of the City of London School till 1843, when a new College was built in Gresham Street. The most remarkable feature of Gresham's scheme was the prominence given to astronomy and music. Astronomy in his day was an almost unknown science, and neither of the Universities had any provision for teaching it. Sir Christopher Wren held the Professorship of Astronomy for some time, and gave lectures in Gresham College.

THE SECOND ROYAL EXCHANGE (*Burgon, "Life of Gresham"*) 1387

The Exchange built by Gresham (see pp. 786, 787) was destroyed in the Great Fire, September 1666; the founder's statue, at the north-west corner, alone escaped. In April 1667 Jerman, one of the City surveyors, was commissioned by the Corporation and the Mercers' Company to make a design for a new Exchange; the foundation-stone was laid May 6, and on October 23 Charles II. laid the base of a column on the west side of the north entrance. Pepys writes: "Sir W. Pen and I back into London, and there saw the king, with his kettledrums and trumpets, going to the Exchange; which, the gates being shut, I could not get in to see. So with Sir W. Pen to Captain Cockes, and thence again towards Westminster; but, in my way, stopped at the Exchange and got in, the king being newly gone, and there find the bottom of the first pillar laid. And here was a shed set up, and hung with tapestry and a canopy of state, and some good victuals and wine for the king, who it seems did it." The new building was burnt down in 1838. To the last the traditional connexion between Gresham College and the Royal Exchange was continued, and the Gresham College Lectures were held in it from 1768 till its own destruction.

INTERIOR OF S. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, WALBROOK 1388

From a drawing made specially for this book. The church, one of Wren's masterpieces, was built 1672-1679.

FIGURE OF S. HELEN, C. 1680 1389

In S. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate; reproduced from a drawing made specially for this book.

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PORCH OF THE NAG'S HEAD INN, LEICESTER (*Richardson, "Studies from Old English Mansions"*) 1390
Built 1663.

DOORWAY OF PEARCE'S CLOTHING MANUFACTORY, WEST MILLS, NEWBURY . 1391
Thomas Pearce, clothier, of Newbury, who died in 1671, endowed two almshouses at West Mills, for poor weavers "of honest life and good manners." Part of the buildings of his own factory seem to have been converted for this purpose. The view here given is from a "History of Newbury" published in 1839.

INN, FORMERLY AT OXFORD, CALLED "ANTIQUITY" HALL 1392
This building dated from 1675 at latest. The print here reproduced was designed and engraved by George Vertue, about the middle of the last century, in satirical commemoration of a visit paid to the inn by the antiquary Thomas Hearne and two of his friends, and of the effect produced on them by its "mild ale." The reference to this appears on the label humorously written in Greek characters, μιλδαλε.

ENTRANCE TO ARBOUR OF THE SHOEMAKERS' GILD, SHREWSBURY 1394
From an original drawing kindly lent by Mr. F. A. Hibbert. Shrewsbury contained a number of trade gilds, which before the Reformation had been wont to unite in a splendid procession on Corpus Christi day. After the abolition of the religious festival, the day was still kept by them with feasting and merry-making in the public land called Kingsland, outside the town. It seems that at the close of the sixteenth century the Corporation allotted to each gild a small plot of ground; this, being hedged in and planted in with trees, was called an Arbour. Early in the seventeenth century wooden shelters were put up in the arbours, and a little later the gilds put up buildings of brick. All the arbours were fitted up inside with a long table and benches on either side of it, a raised chair under a canopy at one end for the warden of the gild, and a buttery partitioned off at the other end. The earliest as well as largest of these arbours, and also the last surviving, was that of the Shoemakers, which is first mentioned in 1637. The enclosure in which it stood had a gate of stone, erected in 1679 "by the freewill offerings of the brethren and half brethren" of the gild, aided by a contribution from the general fund; the cost was £28 6*s.* 7*d.* Two stone figures representing "Crispin and Crispianus,"—the old patron saints of the gild—were placed above the arch in 1684.

CORPORATION BADGES, LEICESTER (*Art Journal*) 1395
The larger of these badges is now in the Museum at Leicester; it is the only one now left of the ancient badges of the town-waits, and seems to date from the sixteenth or seventeenth century. In Canterbury the scutcheon given to each of the four minstrels yearly appointed was worth 100/-, and was returned at the end of the year to the city chamberlain. The smaller badge is that of Edmund Sutton, Mayor of Leicester in 1676.

THOMAS OSBORNE, EARL OF DANBY (*Picture by Vandyck, in possession of Mr. F. Vernon Wentworth*) 1396

SIGN OF THE BELL, KNIGHTRIDER STREET, 1668 (*Guildhall Museum*) 1398

SIGN OF THE BOAR'S HEAD, EASTCHEAP, 1668 (*Guildhall Museum*) 1399

SIGN OF THE ANCHOR, LONDON, 1669 (*Guildhall Museum*) 1400

SIGN OF ABRAHAM BARTLETT, MAKER OF "BOULTING MILLS AND CLOTHES," 1678 (*Guildhall Museum*) 1401

PRINCESS MARY (*from an etching by A. Mongin, in Hemerton's Portfolio of Art, from a picture by Sir P. Lely at Hampton Court*) 1402
Possibly represents her as she appeared (at the age of twelve years) on December 16, 1674, when she and her sister performed at Court in a ballet entitled "Callista, or the Chaste Nymph."

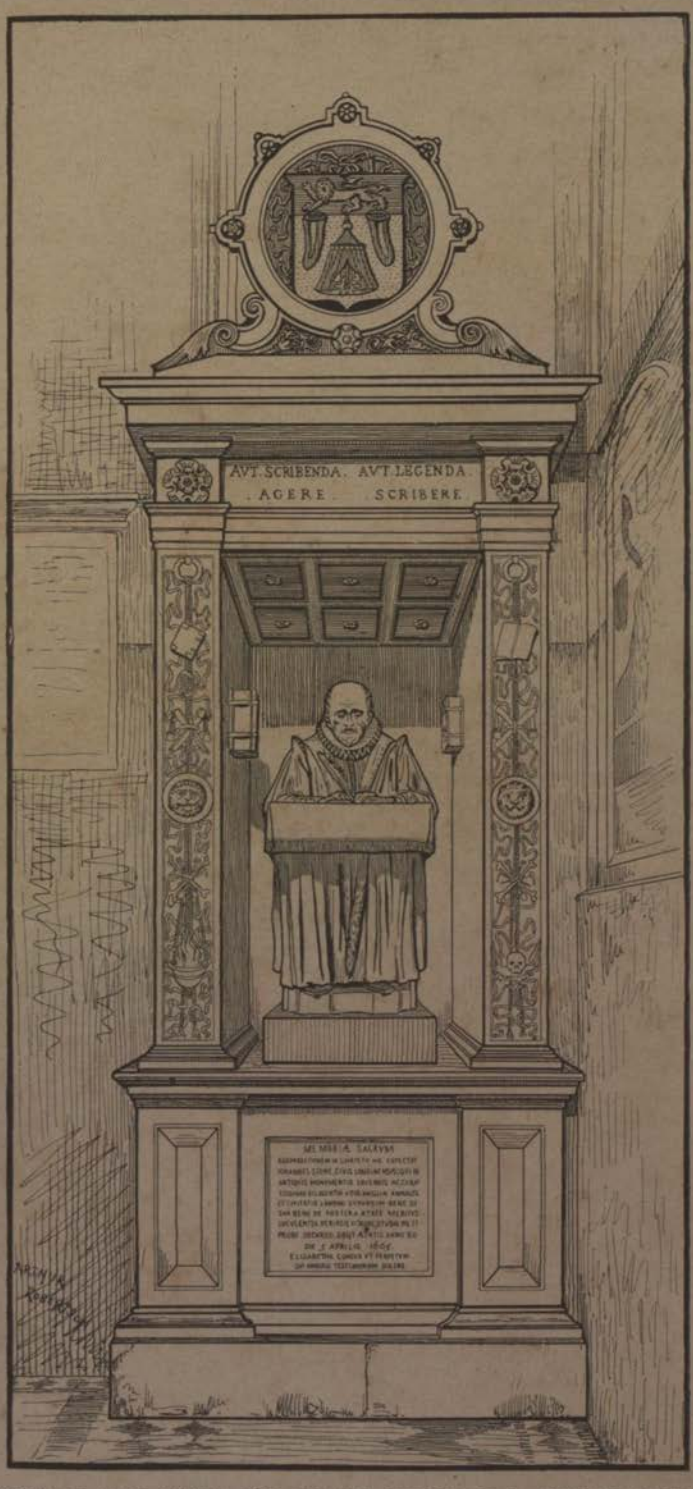
FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE POPISH PLOT 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407
From a set of designs for playing cards by W. Faithorne, 1684; now in the British Museum.

SWORD-REST OF THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON 1408
In S. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate; drawn specially for this book.

A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE



MONUMENT OF JOHN STOWE, 1605, IN THE CHURCH OF S. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT, LEADENHALL STREET, LONDON.

CHAPTER VIII

PURITAN ENGLAND

Section I.—The Puritans, 1583—1603

[*Authorities.*—For the primary facts of the ecclesiastical history of this time, Strype's "Annals," and his lives of Grindal and Whitgift. Neal's "History of the Puritans," besides its inaccuracies, contains little for this period which is not taken from the more colourless Strype. For the origin of the Presbyterian movement, see the "Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort, 1576," often republished; for its later contest with Elizabeth, Mr. Maskell's "Martin Marprelate," which gives copious extracts from the rare pamphlets printed under that name. Mr. Hallam's account of the whole struggle ("Constitutional History," caps. iv. and vii.) is admirable for its fulness, lucidity, and impartiality. Wallington's "Diary" gives us the common life of Puritanism; its higher side is shown in Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs of her husband, and in the early life of Milton, as told in Mr. Masson's biography.]

The Bible

NO GREATER moral change ever passed over a nation than passed over England during the years which parted the middle of the reign of Elizabeth from the meeting of the Long Parliament. England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible. It was as yet the one English book which was familiar to every Englishman; it was read at churches and read at home, and everywhere its words, as they fell on ears which custom had not deadened, kindled a startling enthusiasm. When Bishop Bonner set up the first six Bibles in St. Paul's "many well-disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read to them." . . . "One John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that goodly exercise, to the edifying of himself as well as others. This Porter was a fresh young man and of a big stature; and great multitudes would resort thither to hear him, because he could read well and had an audible voice." But the "goodly

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exercise" of readers such as Porter was soon superseded by the continued recitation of both Old Testament and New in the public services of the Church; while the small Geneva Bibles carried the Scripture into every home. The popularity of the Bible was owing to other causes besides that of religion. The whole prose literature of England, save the forgotten tracts of Wyclif, has grown up since the translation of the Scriptures by Tyndale and Coverdale. So far as the nation at large was concerned, no history, no romance, hardly any poetry, save the little-known verse of Chaucer, existed in the English tongue when the Bible was ordered to be set up in churches. Sunday after Sunday, day after day, the crowds that gathered round Bonner's Bibles in the nave of St. Paul's, or the family group that hung on the words of the Geneva Bible in the devotional exercises at home, were leavened with a new literature. Legend and annal, war-song and psalm, State-roll and biography, the mighty voices of prophets, the parables of Evangelists, stories of mission journeys, of perils by the sea and among the heathen, philosophic arguments, apocalyptic visions, all were flung broadcast over minds unoccupied for the most part by any rival learning. (The disclosure of the stores of Greek literature had wrought the revolution of the Renascence. The disclosure of the older mass of Hebrew literature wrought the revolution of the Reformation.) But the one revolution was far deeper and wider in its effects than the other. No version could transfer to another tongue the peculiar charm of language which gave their value to the authors of Greece and Rome. Classical letters, therefore, remained in the possession of the learned, that is, of the few; and among these, with the exception of Colet and More, or of the pedants who revived a Pagan worship in the gardens of the Florentine Academy, their direct influence was purely intellectual. But the tongue of the Hebrew, the idiom of the Hellenistic Greek, lent themselves with a curious felicity to the purposes of translation. As a mere literary monument, the English version of the Bible remains the noblest example of the English tongue, while its perpetual use made it from the instant of its appearance the standard of our language. For the moment however its literary effect was less than its social. The power of the book over the mass of Englishmen showed itself

in a thousand superficial ways, and in none more conspicuously than in the influence it exerted on ordinary speech. It formed, we must repeat, the whole literature which was practically accessible to ordinary Englishmen; and when we recall the number of common phrases which we owe to great authors, the bits of Shakspere, or Milton, or Dickens, or Thackeray, which unconsciously interweave themselves in our ordinary talk, we shall better understand the strange mosaic of Biblical words and phrases which coloured English talk two hundred years ago. The mass of picturesque allusion and illustration which we borrow from a thousand books, our fathers were forced to borrow from one; and the borrowing was the easier and the more natural that the range of the Hebrew literature fitted it for the expression of every phase of feeling. When Spenser poured forth his warmest love-notes in the "Epithalamion," he adopted the very words of the Psalmist, as he bade the gates open for the entrance of his bride. When Cromwell saw the mists break over the hills of Dunbar, he hailed the sun-burst with the cry of David: "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Like as the smoke vanisheth, so shalt thou drive them away!" Even to common minds this familiarity with grand poetic imagery in prophet and apocalypse gave a loftiness and ardour of expression, that with all its tendency to exaggeration and bombast we may prefer to the slipshod vulgarisms of to-day.

The Puritans

But far greater than its effect on literature or social phrase was the effect of the Bible on the character of the people at large. Elizabeth might silence or tune the pulpits; but it was impossible for her to silence or tune the great preachers of justice, and mercy, and truth, who spoke from the book which she had again opened for her people. The whole moral effect which is produced now-a-days by the religious newspaper, the tract, the essay, the lecture, the missionary report, the sermon, was then produced by the Bible alone; and its effect in this way, however dispassionately we examine it, was simply amazing. One dominant influence told on human action: and all the activities that had been called into life by the age that was passing away were seized, concentrated, and steadied to a definite aim by the spirit of religion. The whole temper of the nation felt the change. A new conception of life

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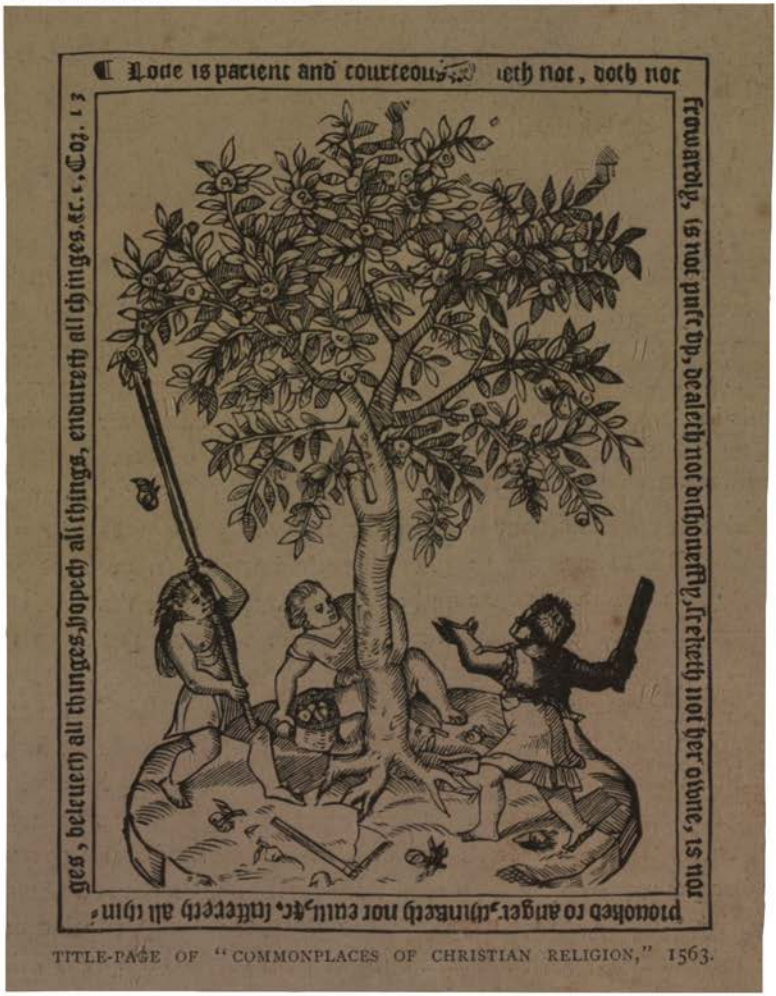
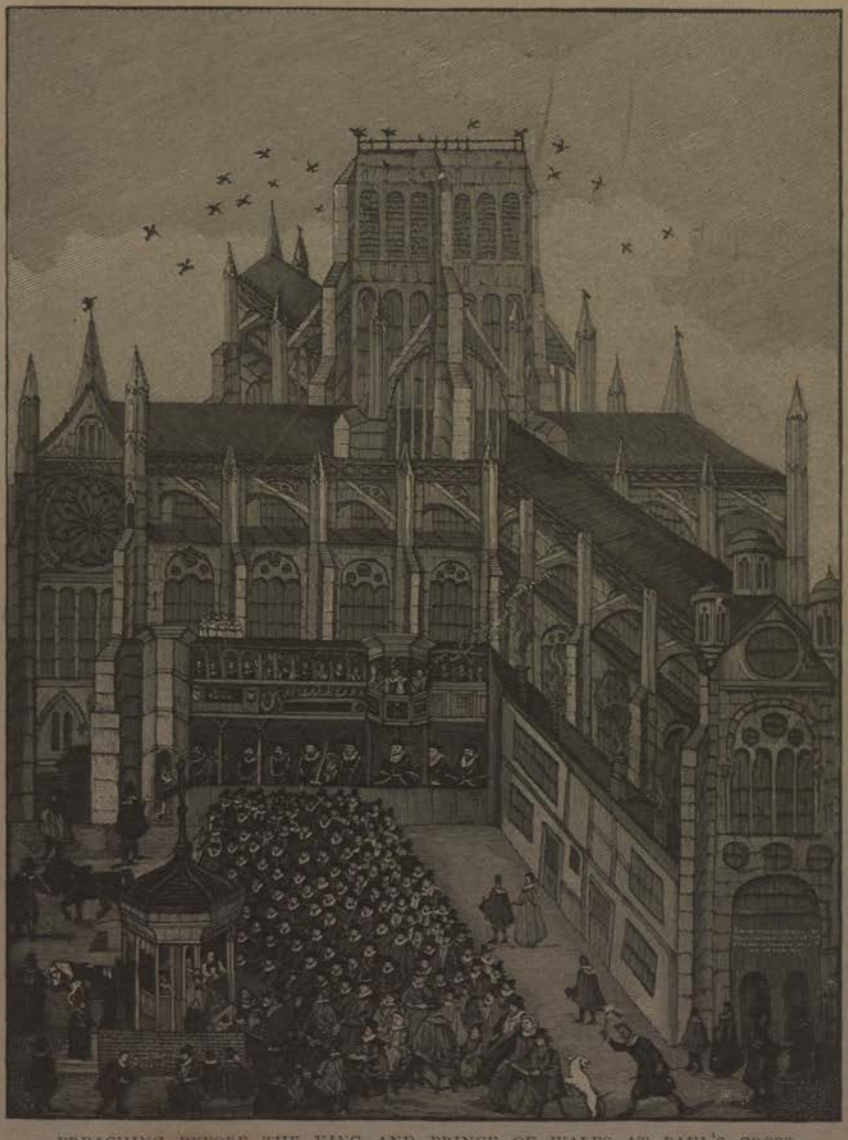
and of man superseded the old. A new moral and religious impulse spread through every class. Literature reflected the general tendency of the time; and the dumpy little quartos of controversy and piety, which still crowd our older libraries, drove before them the classical translations and Italian novelettes of the


Loue is patient and courteous ... eth not, doth not
frowardly, is not puft vp, dealeth not dishonestly, fretteth not her owne, is not
prouoked to anger, thinketh not euil, &c. beareth all thin
ges, beleeueth all thinges, hopeth all things, endureth all thinges, &c. 1. Cor. 13

TITLE-PAGE OF "COMMONPLACES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION," 1563.

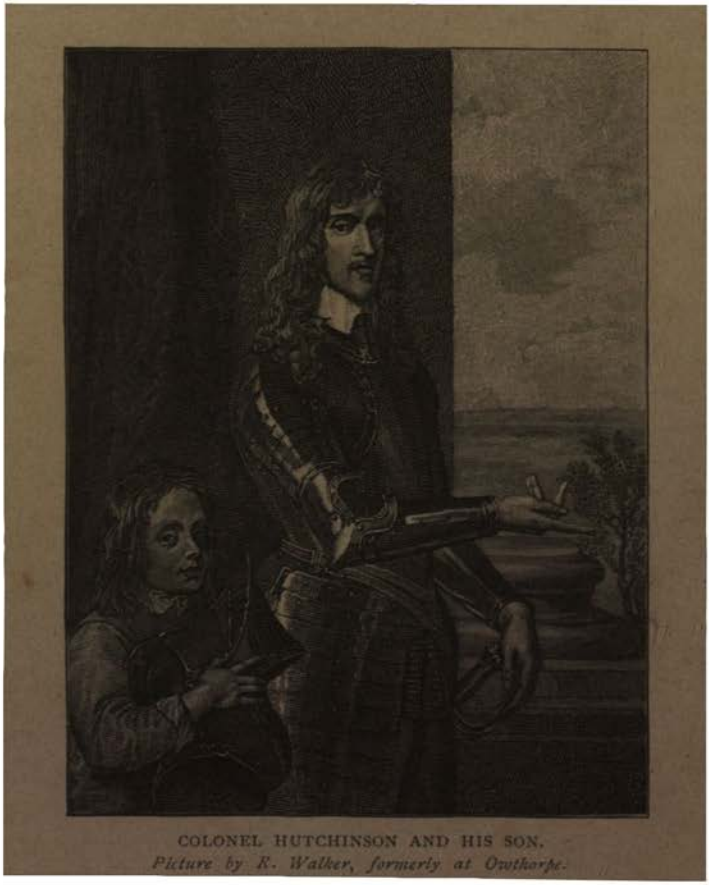
age of the Renascence. "Theology rules there," said Grotius of England only two years after Elizabeth's death; and when Casaubon, the last of the great scholars of the sixteenth century, was invited to England by King James, he found both King and people indifferent to pure letters. "There is a great abundance of



PREACHING BEFORE THE KING AND PRINCE OF WALES AT PAUL'S CROSS, A.D. 1616.

Picture belonging to the Society of Antiquaries.

theologians in England," he says, "all point their studies in that direction." Even a country gentleman like Colonel Hutchinson felt the theological impulse. "As soon as he had improved his natural understanding with the acquisition of learning, the first studies he exercised himself in were the principles of religion." The whole nation became, in fact, a Church. The great problems



COLONEL HUTCHINSON AND HIS SON.
Picture by R. Walker, formerly at Owthorpe.

of life and death, whose questionings found no answer in the higher minds of Shakspere's day, pressed for an answer not only from noble and scholar but from farmer and shopkeeper in the age that followed him. We must not, indeed, picture the early Puritan as a gloomy fanatic. The religious movement had not as yet come into conflict with general culture. With the close of the

Puritanism and culture

Elizabethan age, indeed, the intellectual freedom which had marked it faded insensibly away: the bold philosophical speculations which Sidney had caught from Bruno, and which had brought on Marlowe and Ralegh the charge of atheism, died, like her own religious indifference, with the Queen. But the lighter and more elegant sides of the Elizabethan culture harmonized well enough with the temper of the Puritan gentleman. The figure of Colonel Hutchinson, one of the Regicides, stands out from his wife's canvas with the grace and tenderness of a portrait by Vandyck. She dwells on the personal beauty which distinguished his youth, on "his teeth even and white as the purest ivory," "his hair of brown, very thickset in his youth, softer than the finest silk, curling with loose great rings at the ends." Serious as was his temper in graver matters, the young squire of Owthorpe was fond of hawking, and piqued himself on his skill in dancing and fence. His artistic taste showed itself in a critical love of "paintings, sculpture, and all liberal arts," as well as in the pleasure he took in his gardens, "in the improvement of his grounds, in planting groves and walks and forest trees." If he was "diligent in his examination of the Scriptures," "he had a great love for music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly." We miss, indeed, the passion of the Elizabethan time, its caprice, its largeness of feeling and sympathy, its quick pulse of delight; but, on the other hand, life gained in moral grandeur, in a sense of the dignity of manhood, in orderliness and equable force. The temper of the Puritan gentleman was just, noble, and self-controlled. The larger geniality of the age that had passed away was replaced by an intense tenderness within the narrower circle of the home. "He was as kind a father," says Mrs. Hutchinson of her husband, "as dear a brother, as good a master, as faithful a friend as the world had." The wilful and lawless passion of the Renascence made way for a manly purity. "Neither in youth nor riper years could the most fair or enticing woman ever draw him into unnecessary familiarity or dalliance. Wise and virtuous women he loved, and delighted in all pure and holy and unblameable conversation with them, but so as never to excite scandal or temptation. Scurrilous discourse even among men he abhorred; and though he sometimes took pleasure in wit and mirth, yet

Puritanism and human conduct

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that which was mixed with impurity he never could endure." To the Puritan the wilfulness of life, in which the men of the Renascence had revelled, seemed unworthy of life's character and end. His aim was to attain self-command, to be master of himself, of his thought and speech and acts. A certain gravity and reflectiveness gave its tone to the lightest details of his converse with the world about him. His temper, quick as it might naturally be, was kept under strict control. In his discourse he was ever on his guard against talkativeness or frivolity, striving to be deliberate in speech and "ranking the words beforehand." His life was orderly and methodical, sparing of diet and of self-indulgence; he rose early, "he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else so." The new sobriety and self-restraint marked itself even in his change of dress. The gorgeous colours and jewels of the Renascence disappeared. Colonel Hutchinson "left off very early the wearing of anything that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appeared very much a gentleman." The loss of colour and variety in costume

THE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN, 1633.
Frontispiece to Brathwait's "English Gentleman."

reflected no doubt a certain loss of colour and variety in life itself; but it was a loss compensated by solid gains. Greatest among these, perhaps, was the new conception of social equality. Their common calling, their common brotherhood in Christ, annihilated in the mind of the Puritans that overpowering sense of social distinctions which characterized the age of Elizabeth. The meanest peasant felt himself ennobled as a child of God. The proudest noble recognized a spiritual equality in the poorest "saint." The great social revolution of the Civil Wars and the Protectorate was already felt in the demeanour of gentlemen like Hutchinson. "He had a loving and sweet courtesy to the poorest, and would often employ many spare hours with the commonest soldiers and poorest labourers." "He never disdained the meanest nor flattered the greatest." But it was felt even more in the new dignity and self-respect with which the consciousness of their "calling" invested the classes beneath the rank of the gentry. Take such a portrait as that which Nehemiah Wallington, a turner in Eastcheap, has left us of a London housewife, his mother. "She was very loving," he says, "and obedient to her parents, loving and kind to her husband, very tender-hearted to her children, loving all that were godly,

THE ENGLISH GENTLEWOMAN
1631.
Frontispiece to Brathwait's "English Gentlewoman."

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much misliking the wicked and profane. She was a pattern of sobriety unto many, very seldom was seen abroad except at church; when others recreated themselves at holidays and other times, she would take her needle-work and say, 'here is my recreation.' . . . God had given her a pregnant wit and an excellent memory. She was very ripe and perfect in all stories of the Bible, likewise in all the stories of the Martyrs, and could readily turn to them; she was also perfect and well seen in the English Chronicles, and in the descents of the Kings of England.

A PURITAN FAMILY.
"The whole Psalms in Four Parts," 1563.

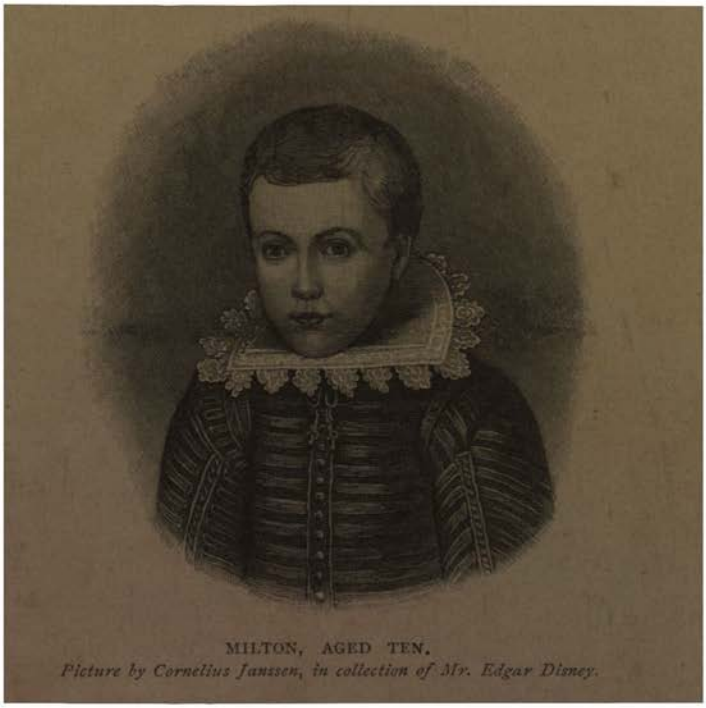
She lived in holy wedlock with her husband twenty years, wanting but four days."

John Milton

The strength of the religious movement lay rather among the middle and professional classes than among the gentry; and it is in a Puritan of this class that we find the fullest and noblest expression of the new influence which was leavening the temper of the time. John Milton is not only the highest, but the completest type of Puritanism. His life is absolutely contemporaneous with his cause. He was born when it began to exercise a direct power over English politics and English religion; he died when its effort

1608

to mould them into its own shape was over, and when it had again sunk into one of many influences to which we owe our English character. His earlier verse, the pamphlets of his riper years, the epics of his age, mark with a singular precision the three great stages in his history. His youth shows us how much of the gaiety, the poetic ease, the intellectual culture of the Renascence lingered in a Puritan home. Scrivener and "precisian" as his father was, he was a skilled musician; and the boy inherited his father's skill



MILTON, AGED TEN.
Picture by Cornelius Janssen, in collection of Mr. Edgar Disney.

on lute and organ. One of the finest outbursts in the scheme of education which he put forth at a later time is a passage in which he vindicates the province of music as an agent in moral training. His home, his tutor, his school were all rigidly Puritan; but there was nothing narrow or illiberal in his early training. "My father," he says, "destined me while yet a little boy to the study of humane letters; which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age I scarcely ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight." But to the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew he learnt at

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school, the scrivener advised him to add Italian and French. Nor were English letters neglected. Spenser gave the earliest turn to his poetic genius. In spite of the war between playwright and precisian, a Puritan youth could still in Milton's days avow his love of the stage, "if Jonson's learned sock be on, or sweetest Shak-

ORGAN POSITIVE.
Early Seventeenth Century.
South Kensington Museum.

spere, Fancy's child, warble his native woodnotes wild," and gather from the "masques and antique pageantry" of the court-revel hints for his own "Comus" and "Arcades." Nor does any shadow of the coming struggle with the Church disturb the young scholar's reverie, as he wanders beneath "the high embowed roof, with

antique pillars massy proof, and storied windows richly dight, casting a dim religious light," or as he hears "the pealing organ blow to the full-voiced choir below, in service high and anthem clear." His enjoyment of the gaiety of life stands in bright contrast with the gloom and sternness which strife and persecution fostered in the later Puritanism. In spite of "a certain reservedness of natural disposition," which shrank from "festivities and jests, in which I acknowledge my faculty to be very slight," the young singer could still enjoy the "jest and youthful jollity" of the world around him, its "quips and cranks and wanton wiles;" he could join the crew of Mirth, and look pleasantly on at the village fair, "where the jocund rebecks sound to many a youth and many a maid, dancing in the chequered shade." But his pleasures were "unreproved." There was nothing ascetic in his look, in his slender, vigorous frame, his face full of a delicate yet serious beauty, the rich brown hair which clustered over his brow; and the words we have quoted show his sensitive enjoyment of all that was beautiful. But from coarse or sensual self-indulgence the young Puritan turned with disgust: "A certain reservedness of nature, an honest haughtiness and self-esteem, kept me still above those low descents of mind." He drank in an ideal chivalry from Spenser, but his religion and purity disdained the outer pledge on which chivalry built up its fabric of honour. "Every free and gentle spirit," said Milton, 'without that oath, ought to be born a knight." It was with this temper that he passed from his London school, St. Paul's, to Christ's College at Cambridge, and it was this temper that he preserved throughout his University career. He left Cambridge, as he said afterwards, "free from all reproach, and approved by all honest men," with a purpose of self-dedication "to that same lot, however mean or high, towards which time leads me, and the will of Heaven."

Cromwell and Bunyan

Even in the still calm beauty of a life such as this, we catch the sterner tones of the Puritan temper. The very height of its aim, the intensity of its moral concentration, brought with them a loss of the genial delight in all that was human which distinguished the men of the Renascence. "If ever God instilled an intense love of moral beauty into the mind of any man," said Milton, "he has instilled it into mine." "Love Virtue," closed his "Comus," "she

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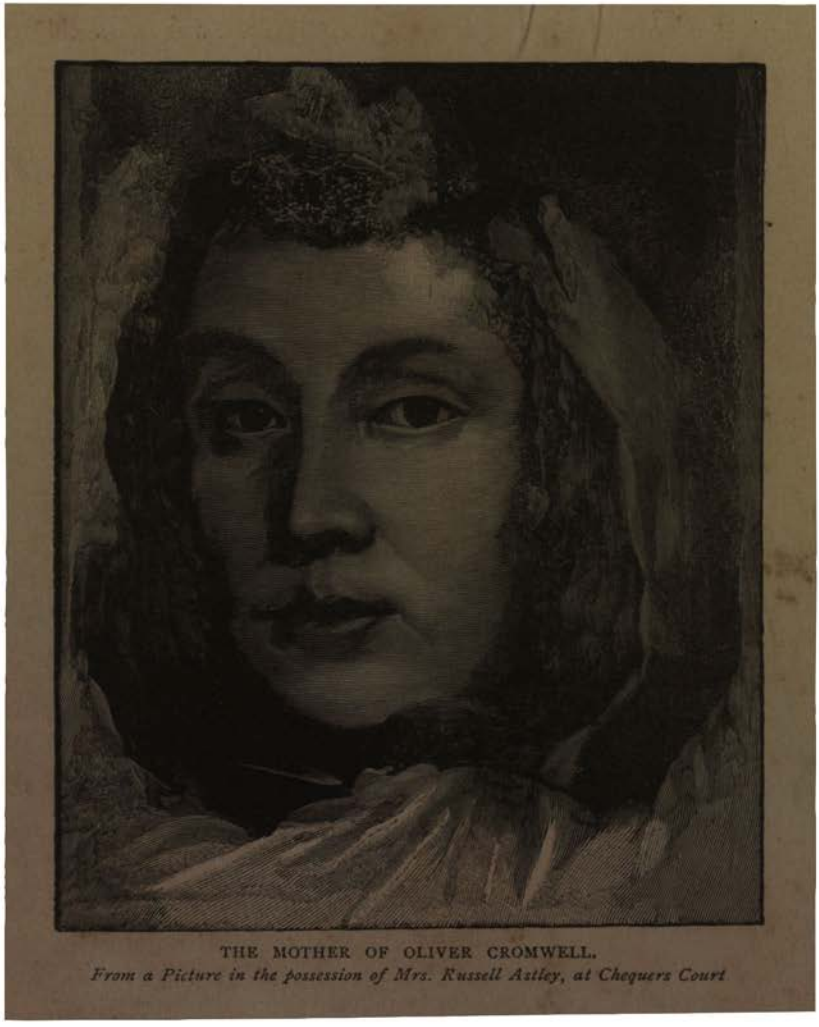
alone is free!" But the passionate love of virtue and of moral beauty, if it gave strength to human conduct, narrowed human sympathy and human intelligence. Already in Milton we note a certain "reservedness of temper," a contempt for "the false estimates of the vulgar," a proud retirement from the meaner and coarser life around him. Great as was his love for Shakspere, we can hardly fancy him delighting in Falstaff. In minds of a less cultured order, this moral tension ended, no doubt, in a hard unsocial sternness of life. The ordinary Puritan "loved all that were godly, much misliking the wicked and profane." His bond to other men was not the sense of a common manhood, but the recognition of a brotherhood among the elect. Without the pale of the saints lay a world which was hateful to them, because it was the enemy of their God. It was this utter isolation from the "ungodly" that explains the contrast which startles us between the inner tenderness of the Puritans and the ruthlessness of so many of their actions. Cromwell, whose son's death (in his own words) went to his heart "like a dagger, indeed it did!" and who rode away sad and wearied from the triumph of Marston Moor, burst into horse-play as he signed the death-warrant of the King. A temper which had thus lost sympathy with the life of half the world around it could hardly sympathize with the whole of its own life. Humour, the faculty which above all corrects exaggeration and extravagance, died away before the new stress and strain of existence. The absolute devotion of the Puritan to a Supreme Will tended more and more to rob him of all sense of measure and proportion in common matters. Little things became great things in the glare of religious zeal; and the godly man learnt to shrink from a surplice, or a mince-pie at Christmas, as he shrank from impurity or a lie. Life became hard, rigid, colourless, as it became intense. The play, the geniality, the delight of the Elizabethan age were exchanged for a measured sobriety, seriousness, and self-restraint. But the self-restraint and sobriety which marked the Calvinist limited itself wholly to his outer life. In his inner soul sense, reason, judgement, were too often overborne by the terrible reality of invisible things. Our first glimpse of Oliver Cromwell is as a young country squire and farmer in the marsh levels around Huntingdon and St.

Oliver Cromwell
b. 1599

Ives, buried from time to time in a deep melancholy, and haunted by fancies of coming death. "I live in Meshac," he writes to a friend, "which they say signifies Prolonging; in Kedar, which signifies Darkness; yet the Lord forsaketh me not." The vivid



THE MOTHER OF OLIVER CROMWELL.
From a Picture in the possession of Mrs. Russell Astley, at Chequers Court

sense of a Divine Purity close to such men made the life of common men seem sin. "You know what my manner of life has been," Cromwell adds. "Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light. I hated godliness." Yet his worst sin was probably nothing

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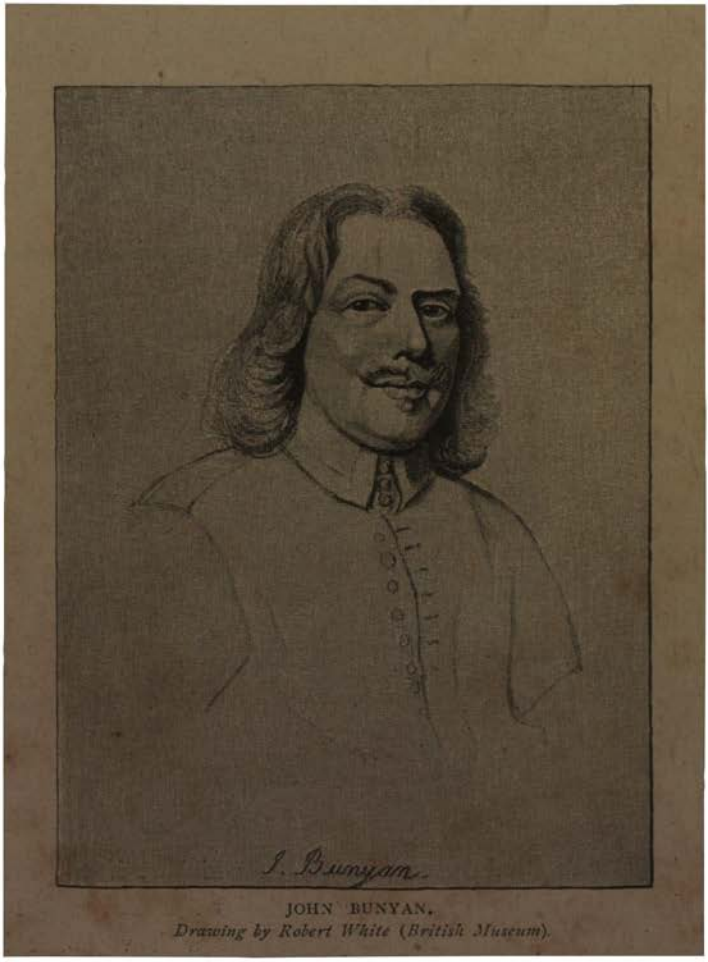
John Bunyan b. 1628

more than an enjoyment of the natural buoyancy of youth, and a want of the deeper earnestness which comes with riper years. In imaginative tempers, like that of Bunyan, the struggle took a more picturesque form. John Bunyan was the son of a poor tinker at Elstow in Bedfordshire, and even in childhood his fancy revelled in terrible visions of Heaven and Hell. "When I was but a child of

BRASS OF HUMPHREY WILLIS, d. 1618.
Wells Cathedral.

nine or ten years old," he tells us, "these things did so distress my soul, that then in the midst of my merry sports and childish vanities, amidst my vain companions, I was often much cast down and afflicted in my mind therewith; yet could I not let go my sins." The sins he could not let go were a love of hockey and of dancing on the village green; for the only real fault which his bitter self-

accusation discloses, that of a habit of swearing, was put an end to at once and for ever by a rebuke from an old woman. His passion for bell-ringing clung to him even after he had broken from it as a "vain practice;" and he would go to the steeple-house and look on, till the thought that a bell might fall and crush him in his sins



JOHN BUNYAN.
Drawing by Robert White (British Museum).

drove him panic-stricken from the door. A sermon against dancing and games drew him for a time from these indulgences; but the temptation again overmastered his resolve. "I shook the sermon out of my mind, and to my old custom of sports and gaming I returned with great delight. But the same day, as I was in the

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midst of a game of cat, and having struck it one blow from the hole, just as I was about to strike it the second time, a voice did suddenly dart from heaven into my soul, which said, 'Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to Heaven, or have thy sins and go to Hell?' At this I was put in an exceeding maze; wherefore, leaving my cat upon the ground, I looked up to heaven; and was as if I had with the eyes of my understanding seen the Lord Jesus looking down upon me, as being very hotly displeased with me, and as if He did severely threaten me with some grievous punishment for those and other ungodly practices."

A FAMILY MEAL.
Early Seventeenth Century.
Ballad in Roxburghe Collection.

The Presbyterians

Such was Puritanism, and it is of the highest importance to realize it thus in itself, in its greatness and its littleness, apart from the ecclesiastical system of Presbyterianism with which it is so often confounded. As we shall see in the course of our story, not one of the leading Puritans of the Long Parliament was a Presbyterian. Pym and Hampden had no sort of objection to Episcopacy, and the adoption of the Presbyterian system was only forced on the Puritan patriots in their later struggle by political considerations. But the growth of the movement, which thus influenced our

history for a time, forms one of the most curious episodes in Elizabeth's reign. Her Church policy rested on the Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity; the first of which placed all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and legislative power in the hands of the State, while the second prescribed a course of doctrine and discipline, from which no variation was legally permissible. For the nation at large Elizabeth's system was no doubt a wise and healthy one. Single-handed, unsupported by any of the statesmen or divines about her, the Queen forced on the warring religions a sort of armed truce. The main principles of the Reformation were accepted, but the zeal of the ultra-reformers was held at bay. The Bible was left open, private discussion was unrestrained, but the warfare of pulpit against pulpit was silenced by the licensing of preachers. Outer conformity, attendance at the common prayer, was exacted from all; but the changes in ritual, by which the zealots of Geneva gave prominence to the radical features of the religious change which was passing over the country, were steadily resisted. While England was struggling for existence, this balanced attitude of the Crown reflected faithfully enough the balanced attitude of the nation; but with the declaration of war by the Papacy in the Bull of Deposition the movement in favour of a more pronounced Protestantism gathered a new strength. Unhappily the Queen clung obstinately to her system of compromise, weakened and broken as it was. With the religious enthusiasm which was growing up around her she had no sympathy whatever. Her passion was for moderation, her aim was simply civil order; and both order and moderation were threatened by the knot of clerical bigots who gathered under the banner of Presbyterianism. Of these Thomas Cartwright was the chief. He had studied at Geneva; he returned with a fanatical faith in Calvinism, and in the system of Church government which Calvin had devised; and as Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge he used to the full the opportunities which his chair gave him of propagating his opinions. No leader of a religious party ever deserved less of after sympathy than Cartwright. He was unquestionably learned and devout, but his bigotry was that of a mediæval inquisitor. The relics of the old ritual, the cross in baptism, the surplice, the giving of a ring in marriage, were to

Cartwright 1571

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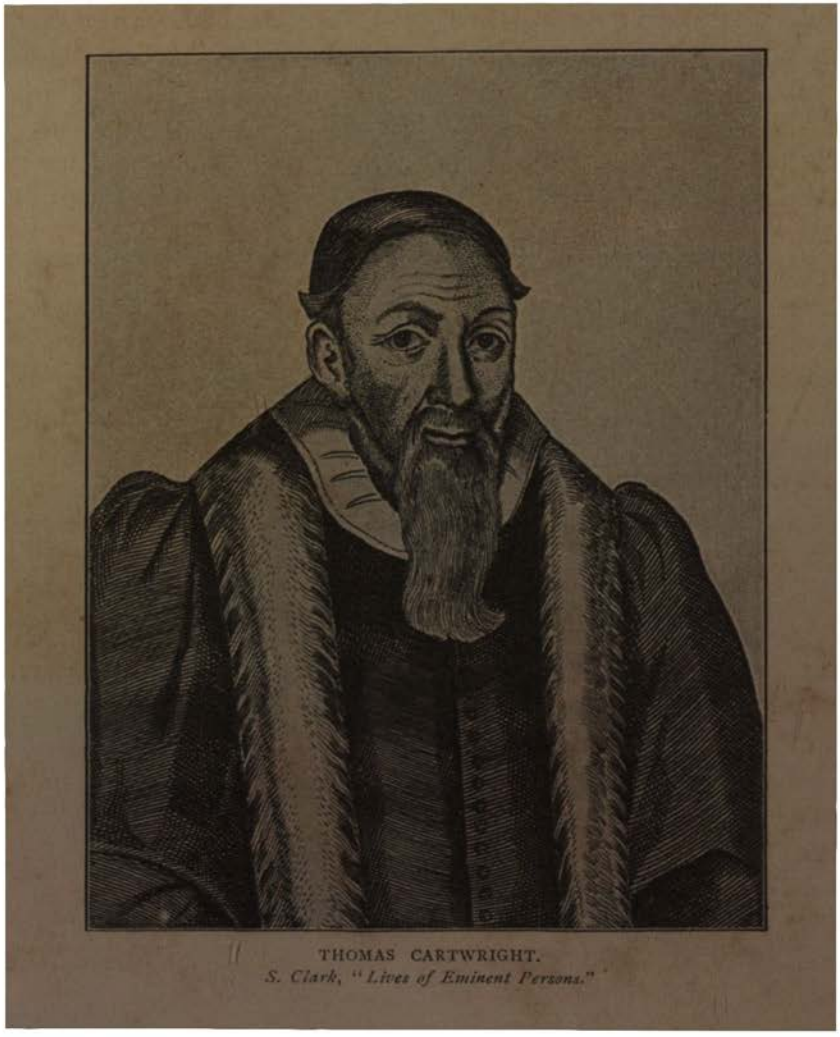
him not merely distasteful, as they were to the Puritans at large, they were idolatrous and the mark of the beast. His declamation against ceremonies and superstition however had little weight with Elizabeth or her Primates; what scared them was his reckless



THOMAS CARTWRIGHT.
S. Clark, "Lives of Eminent Persons."

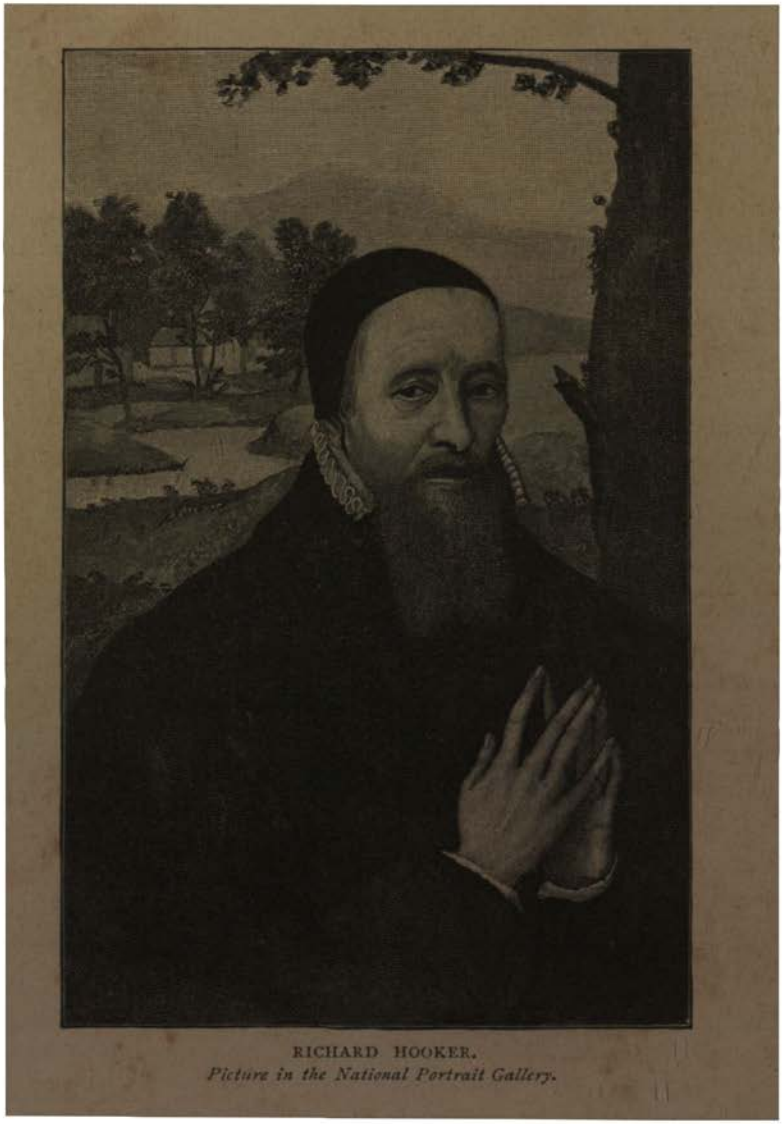
advocacy of a scheme of ecclesiastical government which placed the State beneath the feet of the Church. The absolute rule of bishops, indeed, he denounced as begotten of the devil; but the absolute rule of Presbyters he held to be established by the word of God.

For the Church modelled after the fashion of Geneva he claimed an authority which surpassed the wildest dreams of the masters of the Vatican. All spiritual authority and jurisdiction, the decreeing of doctrine, the ordering of ceremonies, lay wholly in the hands of the ministers of the Church. To them belonged the supervision of public morals. In an ordered arrangement of classes and synods these Presbyters were to govern their flocks, to regulate their own order, to decide in matters of faith, to administer "discipline." Their weapon was excommunication, and they were responsible for its use to none but Christ. The province of the civil ruler was simply to carry out the decisions of the Presbyters, "to see their decrees executed and to punish the contemners of them." The spirit of Calvinistic Presbyterianism excluded all toleration of practice or belief. Not only was the rule of ministers to be established as the one legal form of Church government, but all other forms, Episcopalian and Separatist, were to be ruthlessly put down. For heresy there was the punishment of death. Never had the doctrine of persecution been urged with such a blind and reckless ferocity. "I deny," wrote Cartwright, "that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon of death. . . . Heretics ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost."

Hooker 1594

Opinions such as these might wisely have been left to the good sense of the people itself. Before many years they found in fact a crushing answer in the "Ecclesiastical Polity" of Richard Hooker, a clergyman who had been Master of the Temple, but whose distaste for the controversies of its pulpit drove him from London to a Wiltshire vicarage at Boscombe, which he exchanged at a later time for the parsonage of Bishopsbourne among the quiet meadows of Kent. The largeness of temper which characterized all the nobler minds of his day, the philosophic breadth which is seen as clearly in Shakspere as in Bacon, was united in Hooker with a grandeur and stateliness of style, which raised him to the highest rank among English prose writers. Divine as he was, his spirit and method were philosophical rather than theological. Against the ecclesiastical dogmatism of Presbyterian or Catholic he set the authority of reason. He abandoned the narrow ground of Scriptural argument to base his conclusions on the general

principles of moral and political science, on the eternal obligations of natural law. The Puritan system rested on the assumption that an immutable rule for human action in all matters relating to



RICHARD HOOKER.
Picture in the National Portrait Gallery.

religion, to worship, and to the discipline and constitution of the Church, was laid down, and only laid down, in Scripture. Hooker urged that a Divine order exists, not in written revelation

only, but in the moral relations, the historical developement, and the social and political institutions of men. He claimed for human reason the province of determining the laws of this order; of distinguishing between what is changeable and unchangeable in them, between what is eternal and what is temporary in the Bible itself. It was easy for him to push on to the field of theological controversy where men like Cartwright were fighting the battle of Presbyterianism, to show that no form of Church government had ever been of indispensable obligation, and that ritual observances had in all ages been left to the discretion of churches, and determined by the differences of times. But the truth on which Hooker based his argument was of far higher value than his argument itself; and the acknowledgement of a divine order in human history, of a divine law in human reason, which found expression in his work, harmonized with the noblest instincts of the Elizabethan age. Against Presbyterianism, indeed, the appeal was hardly needed. Popular as the Presbyterian system became in Scotland, it never took any general hold on England; it remained to the last a clerical rather than a national creed, and even in the moment of its seeming triumph under the Commonwealth it was rejected by every part of England save London and Lancashire, and part of Derbyshire. But the bold challenge to the Government which was delivered by Cartwright's party in a daring "Admonition to the Parliament," which demanded the establishment of government by Presbyters, raised a panic among English statesmen and prelates which cut off all hopes of a quiet appeal to reason. It is probable that, but for the storm which Cartwright raised, the steady growth of general discontent with the ceremonial usages he denounced would have brought about their abolition. The Parliament of 1571 had not only refused to bind the clergy to subscription to three articles on the Supremacy, the form of Church government, and the power of the Church to ordain rites and ceremonies, but favoured the project of reforming the Liturgy by the omission of the superstitious practices. But with the appearance of the "Admonition" this natural progress of opinion abruptly ceased. The moderate statesmen who had pressed for a change in ritual withdrew from union with a party which revived the worst pretensions of the Papacy. As dangers from without

The Admonition 1592

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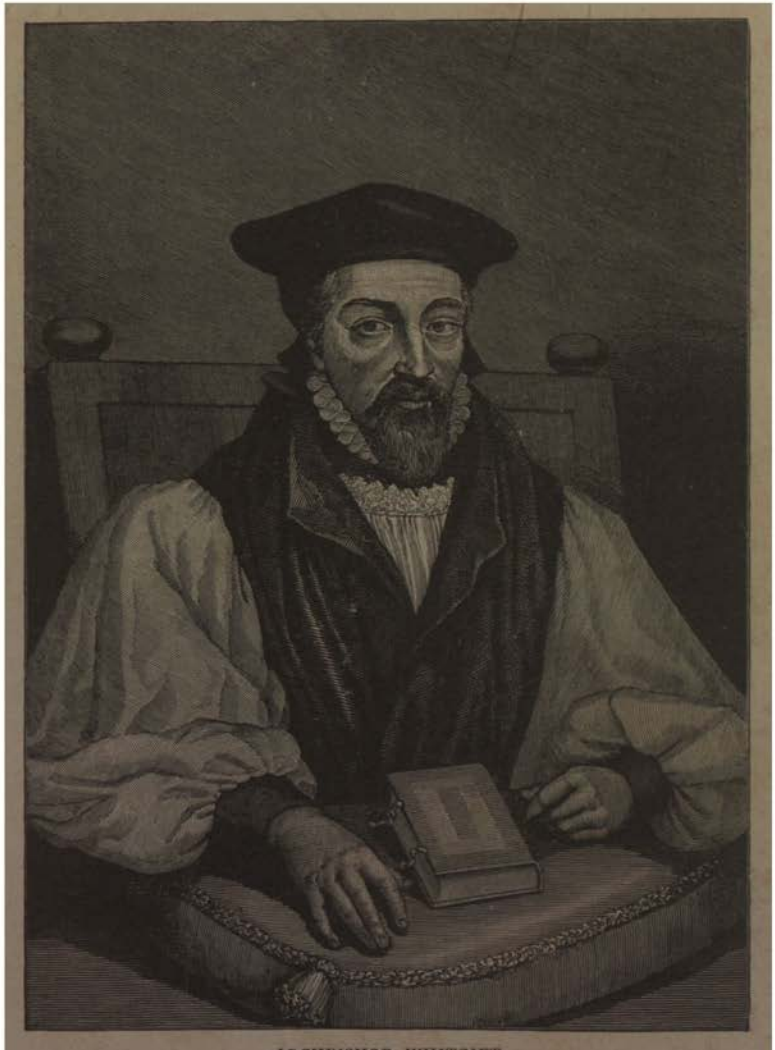
and from within thickened round the Queen the growing Puritanism of the clergy stirred her wrath above measure, and she met the growth of "nonconforming" ministers by a measure which forms the worst blot on her reign.

The Ecclesiastical Commission

The new powers which were conferred in 1583 on the Ecclesiastical Commission converted the religious truce into a spiritual despotism. From being a temporary board which represented the Royal Supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, the Commission was now turned into a permanent body wielding the almost unlimited powers of the Crown. All opinions or acts contrary to the Statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity fell within its cognizance. A right of deprivation placed the clergy at its mercy. It had power to alter or amend the statutes of colleges or schools. Not only heresy, and schism, and nonconformity, but incest or aggravated adultery were held to fall within its scope: its means of enquiry were left without limit, and it might fine or imprison at its will. By the mere establishment of such a Court half the work of the Reformation was undone. The large number of civilians on the board indeed seemed to furnish some security against the excess of ecclesiastical tyranny. Of its forty-four commissioners, however, few actually took any part in its proceedings; and the powers of the Commission were practically left in the hands of the successive Primates. No Archbishop of Canterbury since the days of Augustine had wielded an authority so vast, so utterly despotic, as that of Whitgift and Bancroft and Abbot and Laud. The most terrible feature of their spiritual tyranny was its wholly personal character. The old symbols of doctrine were gone, and the lawyers had not yet stepped in to protect the clergy by defining the exact limits of the new. The result was that at the Commission-board at Lambeth the Primates created their own tests of doctrine with an utter indifference to those created by law. In one instance Parker deprived a vicar of his benefice for a denial of the verbal inspiration of the Bible. Nor did the successive Archbishops care greatly if the test was a varying or a conflicting one. Whitgift strove to force on the Church the Calvinistic supralapsarianism of his Lambeth Articles. Bancroft, who followed him, was as earnest in enforcing his anti-Calvinistic dogma of the Divine right of the episcopate. Abbot had no mercy for Arminianism.



ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.
From an Engraving by G. Vertue

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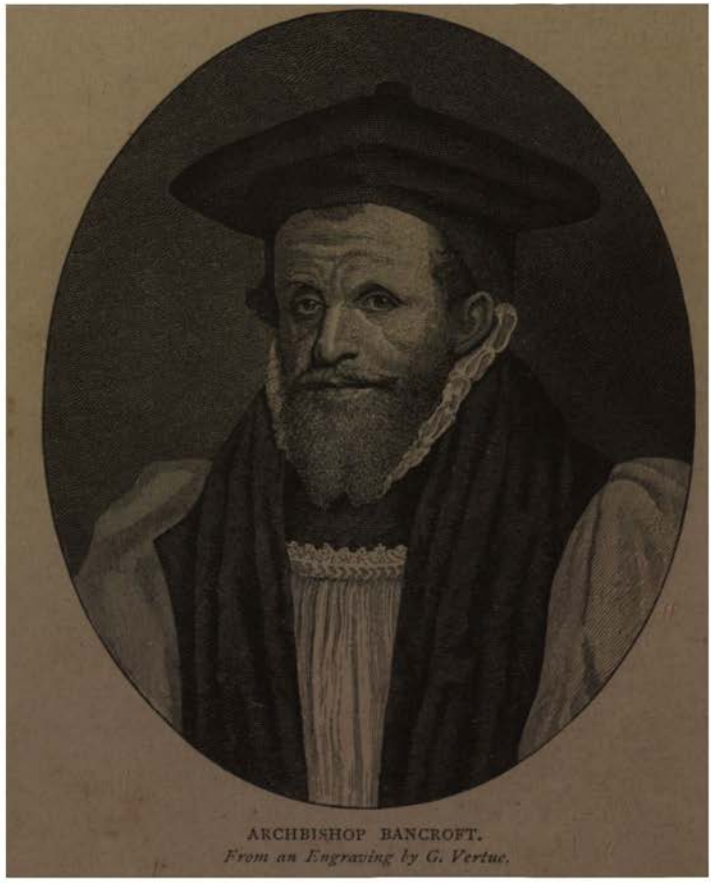
Laud had none for its opponents. It is no wonder that the Ecclesiastical Commission, which these men represented, soon stank in the nostrils of the English clergy. Its establishment however marked the adoption of a more resolute policy on the part of the Crown, and its efforts were backed by stern

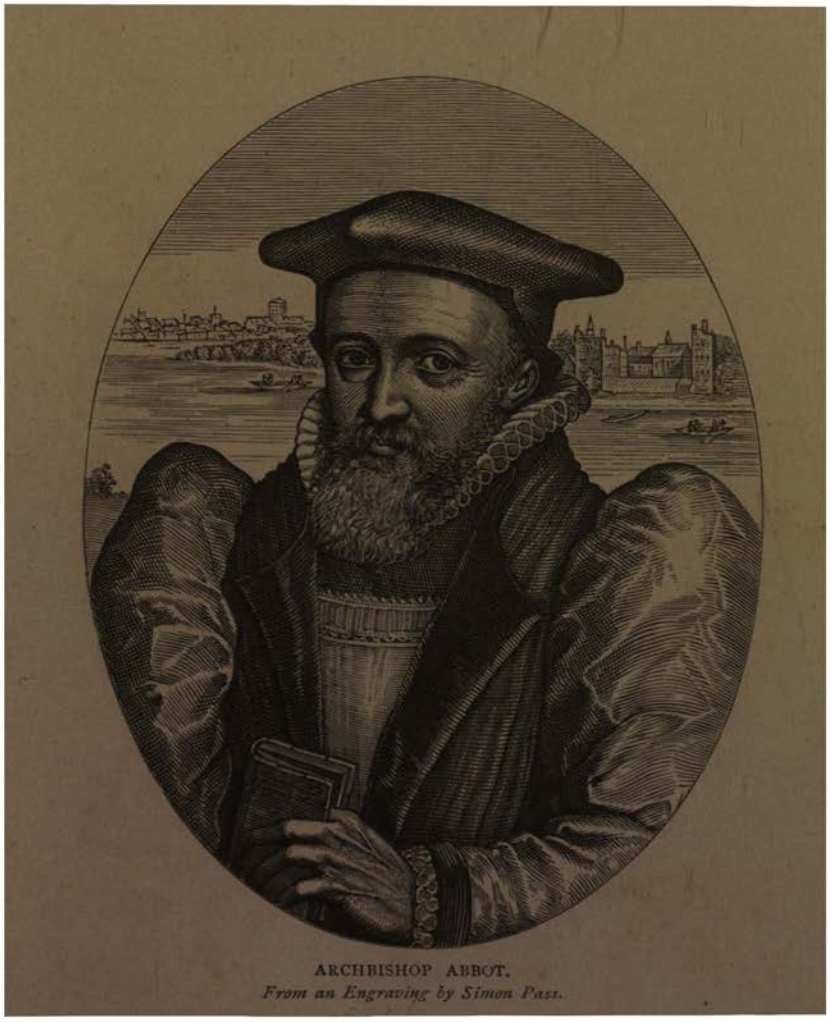


ARCHBISHOP BANCROFT.
From an Engraving by G. Vertue.

measures of repression. All preaching or reading in private houses was forbidden; and in spite of the refusal of Parliament to enforce the requirement of them by law, subscription to the Three Articles was exacted from every member of the clergy.

Growth of Puritanism

For the moment these measures were crowned with success. The movement under Cartwright was checked; Cartwright himself was driven from his Professorship; and an outer uniformity of worship was more and more brought about by the steady pressure



ARCHBISHOP ABBOT.
From an Engraving by Simon Pass.

of the Commission. The old liberty which had been allowed in London and the other Protestant parts of the kingdom was no longer permitted to exist. The leading Puritan clergy, whose nonconformity had hitherto been winked at, were called upon to

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submit to the surplice, and to make the sign of the cross in baptism. The remonstrances of the country gentry availed as little as the protest of Lord Burleigh himself to protect two hundred of the best ministers from being driven from their parsonages on a refusal to subscribe to the Three Articles. But the persecution only gave fresh life and popularity to the doctrines which it aimed at crushing, by drawing together two currents of opinion which were in themselves perfectly distinct. The Presbyterian platform of Church discipline had as yet been embraced by the clergy only, and by few among the clergy. On the other hand, the wish of the Puritans for a reform in the Liturgy, the dislike of "superstitious usages," of the use of the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, the gift of the ring in marriage, the posture of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, was shared by a large number of the clergy and laity alike. At the opening of Elizabeth's reign almost all the higher Churchmen save Parker were opposed to them, and a motion in Convocation for their abolition was lost but by a single vote. The temper of the country gentlemen on this subject was indicated by that of Parliament; and it was well known that the wisest of the Queen's Councillors, Burleigh, Walsingham, and Knollys, were at one in this matter with the gentry. If their common persecution did not wholly succeed in fusing these two sections of religious opinion into one, it at any rate gained for the Presbyterians a general sympathy on the part of the Puritans, which raised them from a clerical clique into a popular party. Nor were the consequences of the persecution limited to the strengthening of the Presbyterians. The "Separatists" who were beginning to withdraw from attendance at public worship on the ground that the very existence of a national Church was contrary to the Word of God, grew quickly from a few scattered zealots to twenty thousand souls. Presbyterian and Puritan felt as bitter an abhorrence as Elizabeth herself of the "Brownists," as they were nicknamed after their founder Robert Brown. Parliament, Puritan as it was, passed a statute against them. Brown himself was forced to fly to the Netherlands, and of his followers many were driven into exile. So great a future awaited one of these congregations that we may pause to get a glimpse of "a poor people" in Lincolnshire and the neighbour-

The Separatists

1593

hood, who "being enlightened by the Word of God," and their members "urged with the yoke of subscription," had been led "to see further." They rejected ceremonies as relics of idolatry, the rule of bishops as unscriptural, and joined themselves, "as the Lord's free people," into "a church estate on the fellowship of the Gospel." Feeling their way forward to the great principle of liberty of conscience, they asserted their Christian right "to walk in all the ways which God had made known or should make known to them." Their meetings or "conventicles" soon drew down the heavy hand of the law, and the little company resolved to seek a refuge in other lands; but their first attempt at flight was prevented, and when they made another, their wives and children were seized at the very moment of entering the ship. At last, however, the magistrates gave a contemptuous assent to their project; they were in fact "glad to be rid of them at any price;" and the fugitives found shelter at Amsterdam, from whence some of them, choosing John Robinson as their minister, took refuge in 1609 at Leyden. "They knew they were pilgrims and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to Heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." Among this little band of exiles were those who were to become famous at a later time as the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower*.

Martin Marprelate

It was easy to be "rid" of the Brownists; but the political danger of the course on which the Crown had entered was seen in the rise of a spirit of vigorous opposition, such as had not made its appearance since the accession of the Tudors. The growing power of public opinion received a striking recognition in the struggle which bears the name of the "Martin Marprelate controversy." The Puritans had from the first appealed by their pamphlets from the Crown to the people, and Whitgift bore witness to their influence on opinion by his efforts to gag the Press. The regulations of the Star-Chamber for this purpose are memorable as the first step in the long struggle of government after government to check the liberty of printing. The irregular censorship which had long existed was now finally organized. Printing was restricted to London and the two Universities, the number of printers reduced, and all candidates for licence to print were placed under the supervision of the Company of Stationers. Every publication too,

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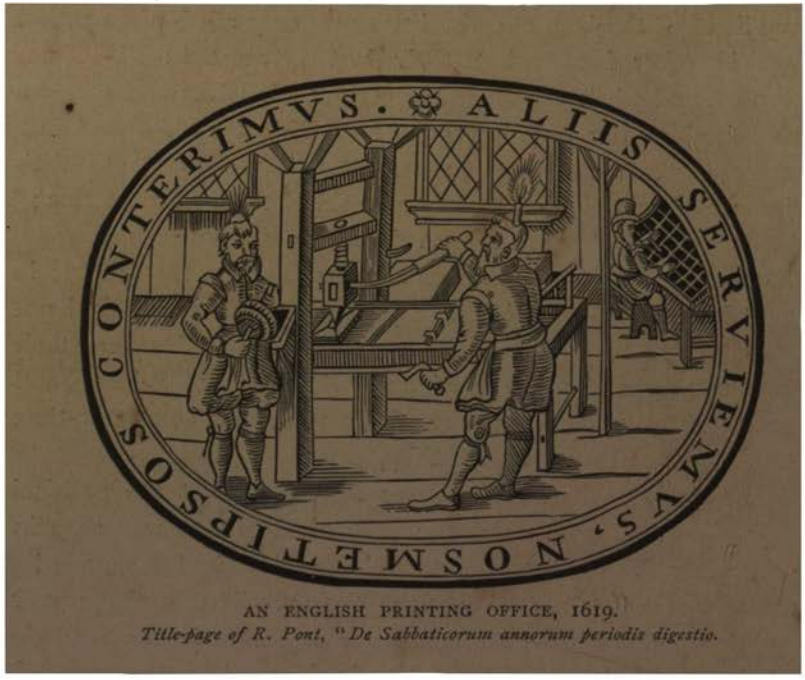
great or small, had to receive the approbation of the Primate or the Bishop of London. The first result of this system of repression was the appearance, in the very year of the Armada, of a series of anonymous pamphlets bearing the significant name of "Martin Marprelate," and issued from a secret press which found refuge from the royal pursuivants in the country-houses of the gentry. The press was at last seized ; and the suspected authors of these scurrilous libels, Penry, a young Welshman, and a minister named Udall, died, the one in prison, the other on the scaffold. But the

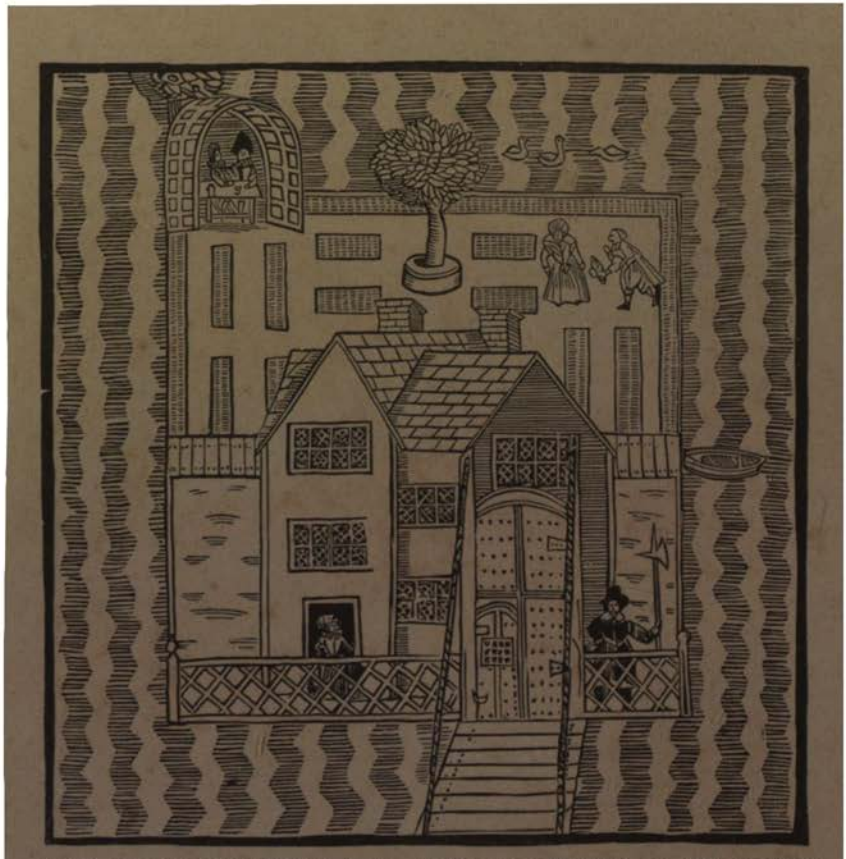


AN ENGLISH PRINTING OFFICE, 1619.
Title-page of R. Pont, "De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis digestio.

virulence and boldness of their language produced a powerful effect, for it was impossible under the system of Elizabeth to "mar" the bishops without attacking the Crown ; and a new age of political liberty was felt to be at hand when Martin Marprelate forced the political and ecclesiastical measures of the Government into the arena of public discussion. The suppression, indeed, of these pamphlets was far from damping the courage of the Presbyterians. Cartwright, who had been appointed by Lord Leicester to the mastership of an hospital at Warwick, was bold enough to organize his system of Church discipline among the clergy of that

LEICESTER'S HOSPITAL, WARWICK.

county and of Northamptonshire. His example was widely followed; and the general gatherings of the whole ministerial body of the clergy, and the smaller assemblies for each diocese or shire, which in the Presbyterian scheme bore the name of Synods and Classes, began to be held in many parts of England for the purposes of debate and consultation. The new organization was quickly suppressed indeed, but Cartwright was saved from the banishment which Whitgift demanded by a promise of submission; his influence steadily increased; and the struggle, transferred to the higher sphere of the Parliament, widened into the great contest for liberty under James, and the Civil War under his successor.



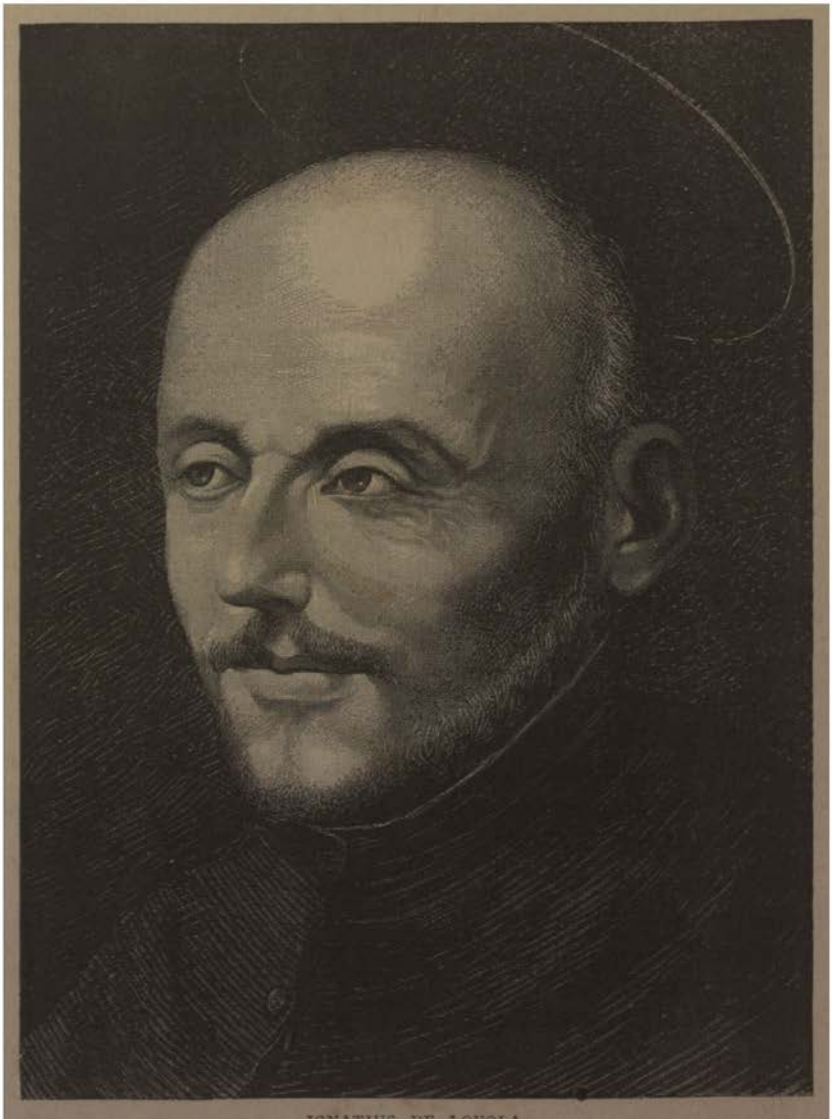
"THE MAP OF MOCKBEGGAR HALL, WITH HIS SITUATION IN THE SPACIOUS COUNTRY CALLED ANYWHERE."
Early Seventeenth Century.
Ballad in Roxburghe Collection.

Section II.—The First of the Stuarts, 1604—1623

[*Authorities.*—Mr. Gardiner's "History of England from the Accession of James I." is invaluable for its fairness and good sense, and for the fresh information collected in it. We have Camden's "Annals of James I.," Goodman's "Court of James I.," Weldon's "Secret History of the Court of James I.," Roger Coke's "Detection," the correspondence in the "Cabala," the letters in the "Court and Times of James I.," the documents in Winwood's "Memorials of State," and the reported proceedings of the last two Parliaments. The Camden Society has published the correspondence of James with Cecil, and Walter Yonge's "Diary." The letters and works of Bacon (fully edited by Mr. Spedding) are necessary for a knowledge of the period. Hacket's "Life of Williams," and Harrington's "Nugæ Antiquæ" throw valuable side-light on the politics of the time. But the Stuart system can only be fairly studied in the State-Papers, calendars of which are being published by the Master of the Rolls.] [The State Papers are now carried on to 1644.—ED.]

The Catholic Reaction

To judge fairly the attitude and policy of the English Puritans, that is of three-fourths of the Protestants of England, at this moment, we must cursorily review the fortunes of Protestantism during the reign of Elizabeth. At its opening the success of the Reformation seemed almost everywhere secure. Already triumphant in the north of Germany at the peace of Augsburg, it was fast advancing to the conquest of the south. The nobles of Austria as well as the nobles and the towns of Bavaria were forsaking the older religion. A Venetian ambassador estimated the German Catholics at little more than one-tenth of the whole population of Germany. The new faith was firmly established in Scandinavia. Eastward the nobles of Hungary and Poland became Protestants in a mass. In the west France was yielding more and more to heresy. Scotland flung off Catholicism under Mary, and England veered round again to Protestantism under Elizabeth. Only where the dead hand of Spain lay heavy, in Castille, in Aragon, or in Italy, was the Reformation thoroughly crushed out; and even the dead hand of Spain failed to crush heresy in the Low Countries. But at the very instant of its



IGNATIUS DE LOYOLA.
Picture by Coello, in the House of the Jesuits at Madrid
Rose, "S. Ignatius de Loyola."

seeming triumph, the advance of the new religion was suddenly arrested. The first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign were a period of suspense. The progress of Protestantism gradually ceased. It wasted its strength in theological controversies and persecutions, and in the bitter and venomous discussions between the Churches which followed Luther and the Churches which followed Zwingli or Calvin. It was degraded and weakened by the prostitution of the Reformation to political ends, by the greed and worthlessness of the German princes who espoused its cause, by the factious lawlessness of the nobles in Poland, and of the Huguenots in France. Meanwhile the Papacy succeeded in rallying the Catholic world round the Council of Trent. The Roman Church, enfeebled and corrupted by the triumph of ages, felt at last the uses of adversity. Her faith was settled and defined. The Papacy was owned afresh as the centre of Catholic union. The enthusiasm of the Protestants roused a counter enthusiasm among their opponents; new religious orders rose to meet the wants of the day; the Capuchins became the preachers of Catholicism, the Jesuits became not only its preachers, but its directors, its schoolmasters, its missionaries, its diplomatists. Their organization, their blind obedience, their real ability, their fanatical zeal galvanized the pulpit, the school, the confessional into a new life. If the Protestants had enjoyed the profitable monopoly of martyrdom at the opening of the century, the Catholics won a fair share of it as soon as the disciples of Loyola came to the front. The tracts which pictured the tortures of Campian and Southwell roused much the same fire at Toledo or Vienna as the pages of Foxe had roused in England. Even learning came to the aid of the older faith. Bellarmine, the greatest of controversialists at this time, Baronius, the most erudite of Church historians, were both Catholics. With a growing inequality of strength such as this, we can hardly wonder that the tide was seen at last to turn. A few years before the fight with the Armada Catholicism began definitely to win ground. Southern Germany, where Bavaria was restored to Rome, and where the Austrian House so long lukewarm in the faith at last became zealots in its defence, was re-Catholicized. The success of Socinianism in Poland severed that kingdom from any real com-

"FISHING FOR SOULS," 1614.

Allegorical Picture, by Adrian Van de Venne, of the Religious Struggle in the Netherlands.

Museum at Amsterdam.

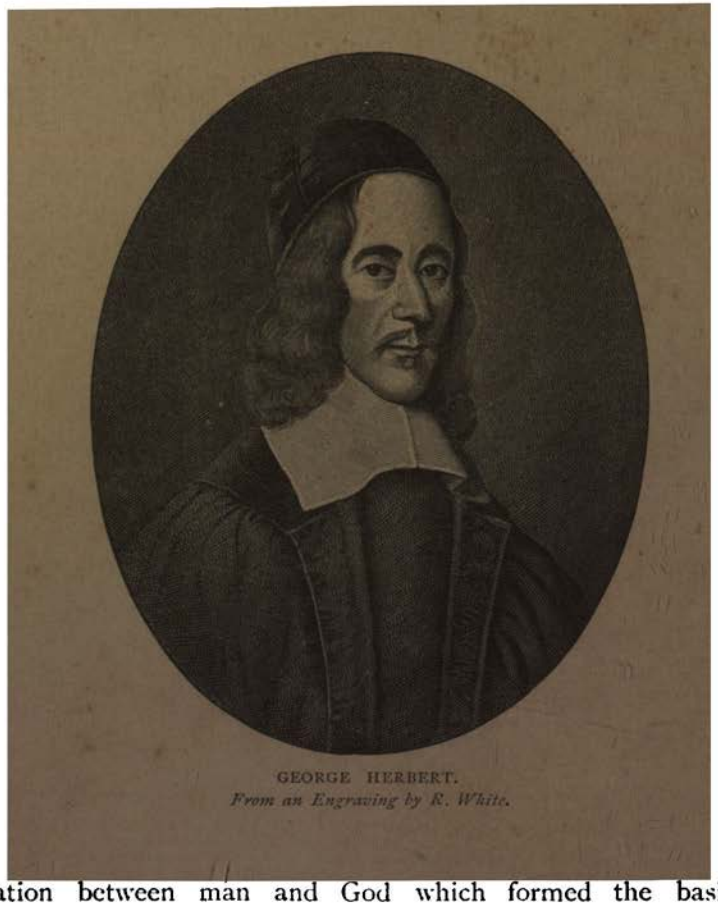
munion with the general body of the Protestant Churches; and these again were more and more divided into two warring camps by the controversies about the Sacrament and Free Will. Everywhere the Jesuits won converts, and their peaceful victories were soon backed by the arms of Spain. In the fierce struggle which followed, Philip was undoubtedly worsted. England was saved by its defeat of the Armada; the United Provinces of the Netherlands rose into a great Protestant power through their own dogged heroism and the genius of William the Silent. France was rescued from the grasp of the Catholic League, at a moment when all hope seemed gone, by the unconquerable energy of Henry of Navarre. But even in its defeat Catholicism gained ground. In the Low Countries, the Reformation was driven from the Walloon provinces, from Brabant, and from Flanders. In France Henry the Fourth found himself obliged to purchase Paris by a mass; and the conversion of the King was followed by a quiet breaking up of the Huguenot party. Nobles and scholars alike forsook Protestantism; and though the Reformation remained dominant south of the Loire, it lost all hope of winning France as a whole to its side.

Puritanism and the Church

At the death of Elizabeth, therefore, the temper of every earnest Protestant, whether in England or abroad, was that of a man who, after cherishing the hope of a crowning victory, is forced to look on at a crushing and irremediable defeat. The dream of a Reformation of the universal Church was utterly at an end. The borders of Protestantism were narrowing every day, nor was there a sign that the triumph of the Papacy was arrested. As hope after hope died into defeat and disaster, the mood of the Puritan grew sterner and more intolerant. What intensified the dread was a sense of defection and uncertainty within the pale of the Church of England itself. As a new Christendom fairly emerged from the troubled waters, the Renascence again made its influence felt. Its voice was heard above all in the work of Hooker, and the appeal to reason and to humanity which there found expression coloured through its results the after history of the English Church. On the one hand the historical feeling showed itself in a longing to ally the religion of the present with the religion of the past, to claim part in the great heritage of

The High Churchmen

Catholic tradition. Men like George Herbert started back from the bare, intense spiritualism of the Puritan to find nourishment for devotion in the outer associations which the piety of ages had grouped around it, in holy places and holy things, in the stillness of church and altar, in the awful mystery of sacraments. Men like Laud, unable to find standing ground in the purely personal



GEORGE HERBERT.
From an Engraving by R. White.

relation between man and God which formed the basis of Calvinism, fell back on the consciousness of a living Christendom, which, torn and rent as it seemed, was soon to resume its ancient unity. On the other hand, the appeal which Hooker addressed to reason produced a school of philosophical thinkers whose timid upgrowth was almost lost in the clash of warring creeds about them, but who were destined—as the Latitudinarians of later days

The Arminians

—to make a deep impression on religious thought. As yet however this rationalizing movement limited itself to the work of moderating and reconciling, to recognizing with Calixtus the pettiness of the points of difference which parted Christendom, and the greatness of its points of agreement, or to revolting with Arminius from the more extreme tenets of Calvin and Calvin's followers. No men could be more opposed in their tendencies to one another than the later High Churchmen, such as Laud, and the later Latitudinarians, such as Hales. But to the ordinary English Protestant both Latitudinarian and High Churchman were equally hateful. To him the struggle with the Papacy was not one for compromise or comprehension. It was a struggle between light and darkness, between life and death. No innovation in faith or worship was of small account, if it tended in the direction of Rome. Ceremonies, which in an hour of triumph might have been allowed as solaces to weak brethren, he looked on as acts of treason in this hour of defeat. The peril was too great to admit of tolerance or moderation. Now that falsehood was gaining ground, the only security for truth was to draw a hard and fast line between truth and falsehood. There was as yet indeed no general demand for any change in the form of Church government, or of its relation to the State, but for some change in the outer ritual of worship which should correspond to the advance which had been made to a more pronounced Protestantism. We see the Puritan temper in the Millenary Petition (as it was called), which was presented to James the First on his accession by some eight hundred clergymen, about a tenth of the whole number in his realm. It asked for no change in the government or organization of the Church, but for a reform of its courts, the removal of superstitious usages from the Book of Common Prayer, the disuse of lessons from the apocryphal books of Scripture, a more rigorous observance of Sundays, and the provision and training of preaching ministers. Even statesmen who had little sympathy with the religious spirit about them pleaded for the purchase of religious and national union by ecclesiastical reforms. "Why," asked Bacon, "should the civil state be purged and restored by good and wholesome laws made every three years in Parliament assembled, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischief, and contrari-

Millenary Petition 1603

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wise the ecclesiastical state still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive no alteration these forty-five years or more?" A general expectation, in fact, prevailed that, now the Queen's opposition was removed, something would be done. But, different as his theological temper was from the purely secular temper of Elizabeth, her successor was equally resolute against all changes in Church matters.

The Divine Right of Kings

No sovereign could have jarred against the conception of an English ruler which had grown up under Plantagenet or Tudor more utterly than James the First. His big head, his slobbering tongue, his quilted clothes, his rickety legs, stood out in as grotesque a contrast with all that men recalled of Henry or Elizabeth as his gabble and rhodomontade, his want of personal dignity, his buffoonery, his coarseness of speech, his pedantry, his contemptible cowardice. Under this ridiculous exterior however lay a man of much natural ability, a ripe scholar with a considerable fund of shrewdness, of mother-wit, and ready repartee. His canny humour lights up the political and theological controversies of the time with quaint incisive phrases, with puns and epigrams and touches of irony, which still retain their savour. His reading, especially in theological matters, was extensive; and he was a voluminous author on subjects which ranged from predestination to tobacco. But his shrewdness and learning only left him, in the phrase of Henry the Fourth, "the wisest fool in Christendom." He had the temper of a pedant, a pedant's conceit, a pedant's love of theories, and a pedant's inability to bring his theories into any relation with actual facts. All might have gone well had he confined himself to speculations about witchcraft, about predestination, about the noxiousness of smoking. Unhappily for England and for his successor, he clung yet more passionately to theories of government which contained within them the seeds of a death-struggle between his people and the Crown. Even before his accession to the English throne, he had formulated his theory of rule in a work on "The True Law of Free Monarchy;" and announced that, "although a good King will frame his actions to be according to law, yet he is not bound thereto, but of his own will and for example-giving to his subjects." With the Tudor statesmen who used the phrase,

JAMES I.

Picture by P. van Somer, in the National Portrait Gallery.

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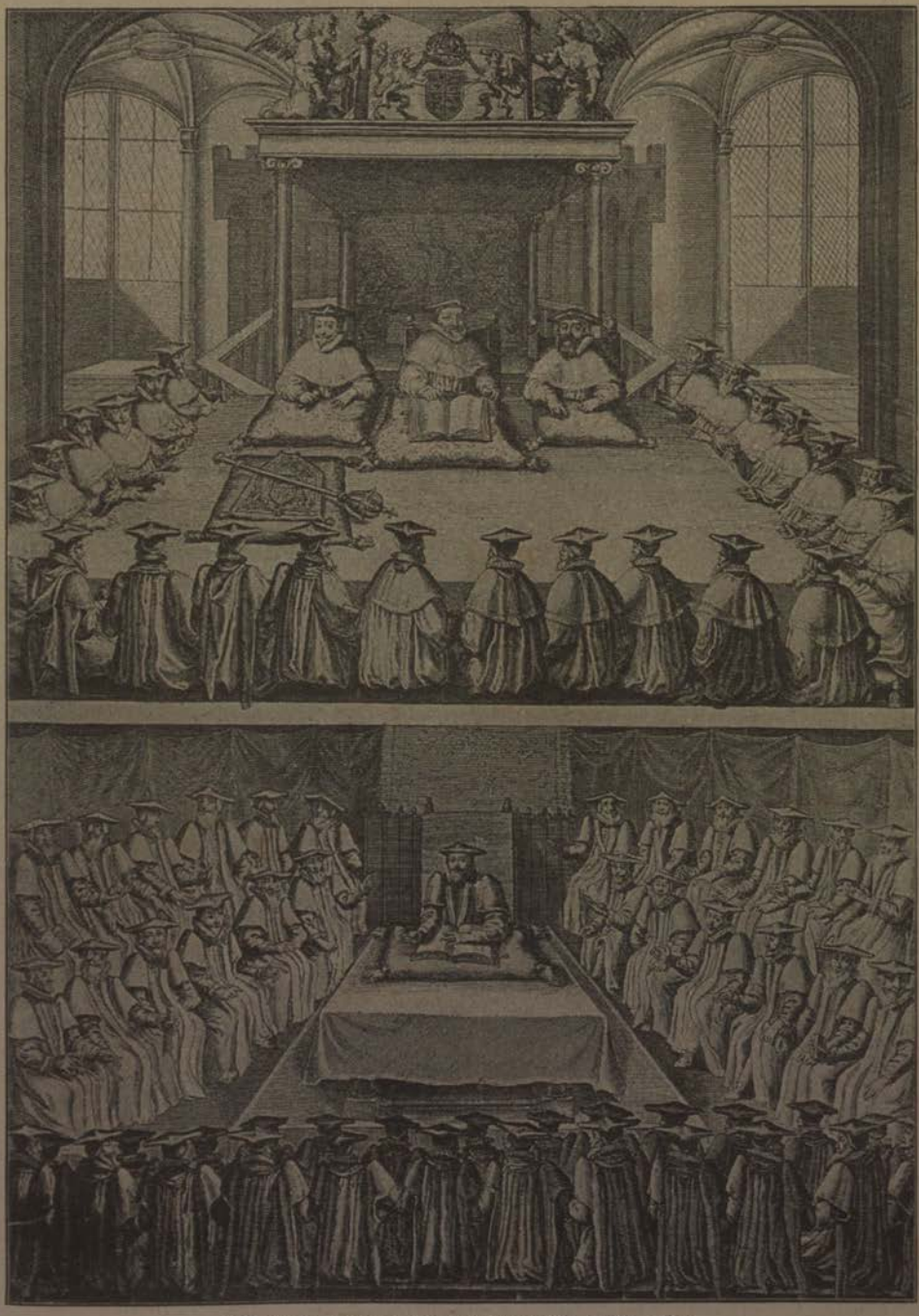
"an absolute King," or "an absolute monarchy," meant a sovereign or rule complete in themselves, and independent of all foreign or Papal interference. James chose to regard the words as implying the monarch's freedom from all control by law, or from responsibility to anything but his own royal will. The King's theory however was made a system of government; it was soon, as the Divine Right of Kings, to become a doctrine which bishops preached from the pulpit, and for which brave men laid their heads on the block. The Church was quick to adopt its sovereign's
1606 discovery. Convocation in its book of Canons denounced as a fatal error the assertion that "all civil power, jurisdiction, and authority were first derived from the people and disordered multitude, or either is originally still in them, or else is deduced by their consent naturally from them; and is not God's ordinance originally descending from Him and depending upon Him." In strict accordance with James's theory, these doctors declared sovereignty in its origin to be the prerogative of birthright, and inculcated passive obedience to the monarch as a religious
1608 obligation. Cowell, a civilian, followed up the discoveries of Convocation by an announcement that "the King is above the law by his absolute power," and that "notwithstanding his oath he may alter and suspend any particular law that seemeth hurtful
1610 to the public estate." The book was suppressed on the remonstrance of the House of Commons, but the party of passive obedience grew fast. A few years before the death of James, the University of Oxford decreed solemnly that "it was in no case lawful for subjects to make use of force against their princes, or to appear offensively or defensively in the field against them." The King's "arrogant speeches," if they roused resentment in the Parliaments to which they were addressed, created by sheer force of repetition a certain belief in the arbitrary power they challenged for the Crown. We may give one instance of their tone from a speech delivered in the Star-Chamber. "As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do," said James, "so it is presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what a King can do, or to say that a King cannot do this or that." "If the practice should follow the positions," once commented a thoughtful observer on words such as these, "we are not likely



THE TWO HOUSES OF CONVOCATION, 1623—1624.
Contemporary Print in British Museum.

WHILST MASKINGE IN THEIR FOLLEIS ALL DOE PASSE
THOVGH ALL SAY NAY YET ALL DOE RIDE THE ASSE.
Printed coloured and sold by John Garrett at the South entrance of the Royall Exchange in Cornhill going up the Stayres.

S. there we ryde? no pity, as you passe	You are not sad? vnto your Silues in this,	But Iustice will not suffer Boyes so alone	My riotous Guilliver to the Pirates knott
Vnto th' wretched, poore, and patient Asse?	For whilst you all strive for me, All his ryde	He may not ride, and haue the Asse his owne	Mr Clowne to Laurell yet Pooke, where not
Will all our wyt, vppon me? all together	Wherein of each of you his turne would vary,	Kis knee hath orders, and your Silues you trouble;	Put when you All shall rule: and each be sorry,
At mee? Clowne Dull, Pucke, Pandar, Fool & Tether?	Though you were mery? the Asse gets, all would say	Whilst thy poore Asse, to please you, would beare double	Remoue the Asses back you doe not driue?
The wrill, beneath such weight, doth almost crake;	Here's gin that lasty me, and a Dogge, neuer,	And all you yonke impose would climber too lightly;	For, if ere chance to kill the valiant Beast
And must I beare her burden, on my Back?	That sitt me, once as brane as fell of you	Were it to beare Dame Pucke vnto the Spittle.	Your severall Soules, before they knowe their rest.
Put y' an Asinus could euer brooke	Hee has gunnoke you for he would worrate	Dun Pandar to the whippe, Drs Guill to eat	Must by the Destinie of Pithagoras
The Asses flower, this must make him speake.	Grome Mr Iullius, here, to take his Seate.	Of the Scriffe Bastom; and his broken wine,	Passe through the body of the quicksand Asse.

THE NATION AND ITS RIOTOUS GOVERNORS.

Satirical Print, 1603, *in British Museum.*

to leave to our successors that freedom we received from our forefathers."

It is necessary to weigh throughout the course of James's reign this aggressive attitude of the Crown, if we would rightly judge what seems at first sight to be an aggressive tone in some of the proceedings of the Parliaments. With new claims of power such as these before them, to have stood still would have been ruin. The claim, too, was one which jarred against all that was noblest in the temper of the time. Men were everywhere reaching forward to the conception of law. Bacon sought for law in material nature; Hooker asserted the rule of law over the spiritual world. The temper of the Puritan was eminently a temper of law. The diligence with which he searched the Scriptures sprang from his earnestness to discover a Divine Will which in all things, great or small, he might implicitly obey. But this implicit obedience was reserved for the Divine Will alone; for human ordinances derived their strength only from their correspondence with the revealed law of God. The Puritan was bound by his very religion to examine every claim made on his civil and spiritual obedience by the powers that be; and to own or reject the claim, as it accorded with the higher duty which he owed to God. "In matters of faith," Mrs. Hutchinson tells us of her husband, "his reason always submitted to the Word of God; but in all other things the greatest names in the world would not lead him without reason." It was plain that an impassable gulf parted such a temper as this from the temper of unquestioning devotion to the Crown which James demanded. It was a temper not only legal, but even pedantic in its legality, intolerant from its very sense of a moral order and law of the lawlessness and disorder of a personal tyranny; a temper of criticism, of judgement, and, if need be, of stubborn and unconquerable resistance; of a resistance which sprang, not from the disdain of authority, but from the Puritan's devotion to an authority higher than that of kings. But if the theory of a Divine Right of Kings was certain to rouse against it all the nobler energies of Puritanism, there was something which roused its nobler and its pettier instincts of resistance alike in the place accorded by James to Bishops. Elizabeth's conception

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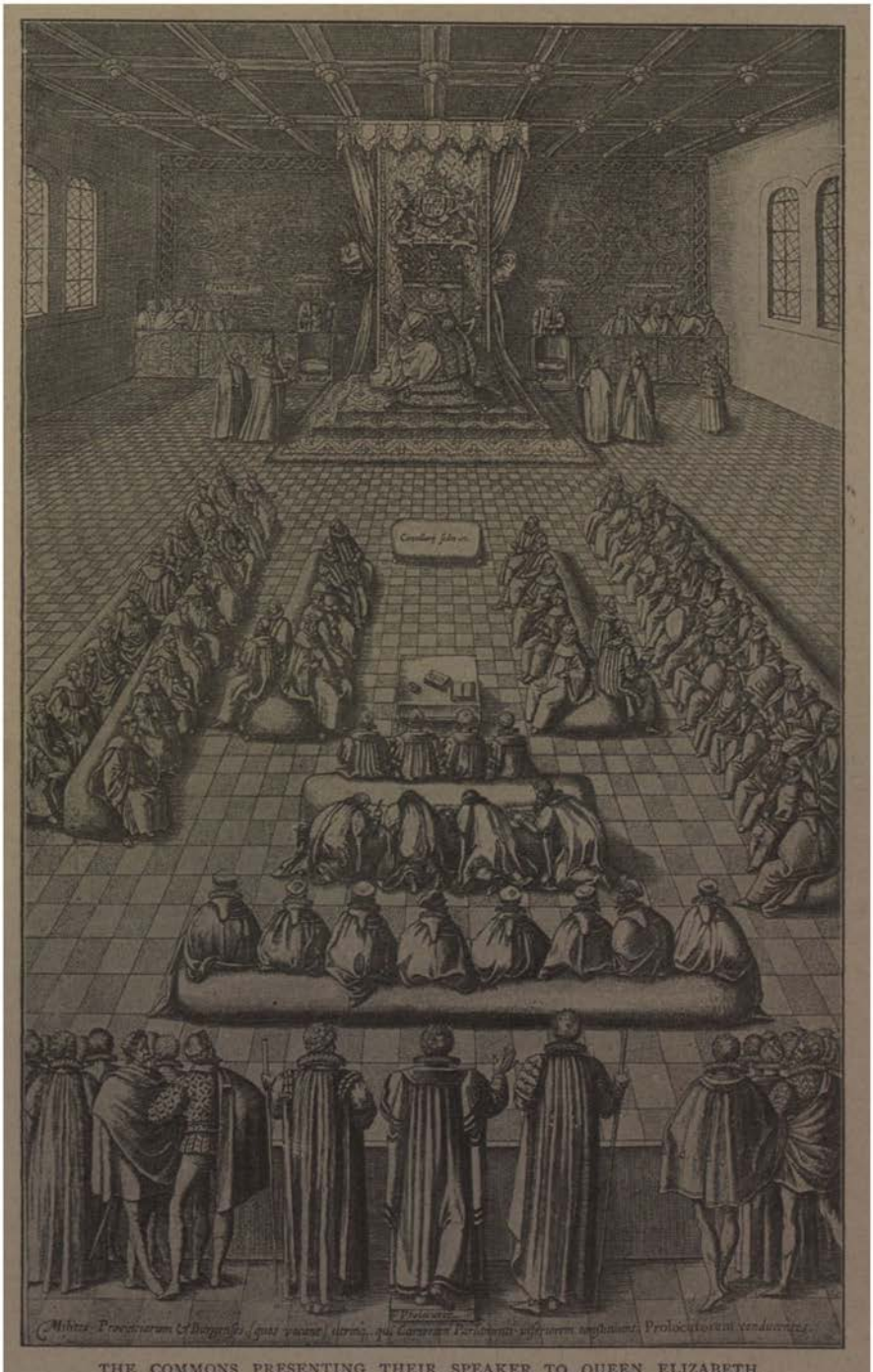
of her ecclesiastical Supremacy had been a sore stumbling-block to her subjects, but Elizabeth at least regarded the Supremacy simply as a branch of her ordinary prerogative. The theory of James, however, was as different from that of Elizabeth, as his view of kingship was different from hers. It was the outcome of the bitter years of humiliation which he had endured in Scotland in his struggle with Presbyterianism. The Scotch presbyters had insulted and frightened him in the early days of his reign, and he chose to confound Puritanism with Presbyterianism. No prejudice, however, was really required to suggest his course. In itself it was logical, and consistent with the premisses from which it started. If theologically his opinions were Calvinistic, in the ecclesiastical fabric of Calvinism, in its organization of the Church, in its annual assemblies, in its public discussion and criticism of acts of government through the pulpit, he saw an organized democracy which threatened his crown. The new force which had overthrown episcopacy in Scotland was a force which might overthrow the monarchy itself. It was the people which in its religious or its political guise was the assailant of both. And as their foe was the same, so James argued with the shrewd short-sightedness of his race, their cause was the same. "No bishop," ran his famous adage, "no King!" Hopes of ecclesiastical change found no echo in a King who, among all the charms that England presented him, saw none so attractive as its ordered and obedient Church, its synods that met at the royal will, its courts that carried out the royal ordinances, its bishops that held themselves to be royal officers.

Hampton Court Conference 1604

If he accepted the Millenary Petition, and summoned a conference of prelates and Puritan divines at Hampton Court, he showed no purpose of discussing the grievances alleged. He revelled in the opportunity for a display of his theological reading; but he viewed the Puritan demands in a purely political light. The bishops declared that the insults he showered on their opponents were dictated by the Holy Ghost. The Puritans still ventured to dispute his infallibility. James broke up the conference with a threat which revealed the policy of the Crown. "I will make them conform," he said of the remonstrants, "or I will harry them out of the land."

The Crown and the Parliament

It is only by thoroughly realizing the temper of the nation on religious and civil subjects, and the temper of the King, that we can understand the long Parliamentary conflict which occupied the whole of James's reign. But to make its details intelligible we must briefly review the relations between the two Houses and the Crown. The wary prescience of Wolsey had seen in Parliament, even in its degradation under the Tudors, the memorial of an older freedom, and a centre of national resistance to the new despotism which Henry was establishing, should the nation ever rouse itself to resist. Never perhaps was English liberty in such deadly peril as when Wolsey resolved on the practical suppression of the two Houses. But the bolder genius of Cromwell set aside the traditions of the New Monarchy. His confidence in the power of the Crown revived the Parliament as an easy and manageable instrument of tyranny. The old forms of constitutional freedom were turned to the profit of the royal despotism, and a revolution which for the moment left England absolutely at Henry's feet was wrought out by a series of parliamentary statutes. Throughout Henry's reign Cromwell's confidence was justified by the spirit of slavish submission which pervaded the Houses. But the effect of the religious change for which his measures made room began to be felt during the minority of Edward the Sixth; and the debates and divisions on the religious reaction which Mary pressed on the Parliament were many and violent. A great step forward was marked by the effort of the Crown to neutralize by "management" an opposition which it could no longer overawe. The Parliaments were packed with nominees of the Crown. Twenty-two new boroughs were created under Edward, fourteen under Mary; some, indeed, places entitled to representation by their wealth and population, but the bulk of them small towns or hamlets which lay wholly at the disposal of the royal Council. Elizabeth adopted the system of her two predecessors, both in the creation of boroughs and the recommendation of candidates; but her keen political instinct soon perceived the uselessness of both expedients. She fell back as far as she could on Wolsey's policy of practical abolition, and summoned Parliaments at longer and longer intervals. By rigid economy, by a policy of balance



THE COMMONS PRESENTING THEIR SPEAKER TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.
First Authentic Representation of the Opening of the Houses.
R. Glover, "Nobilitas Politica et Civilis," 1608.

and peace, she strove, and for a long time successfully strove, to avoid the necessity of assembling them at all. But Mary of Scotland and Philip of Spain proved friends to English liberty in its sorest need. The struggle with Catholicism forced Elizabeth to have more frequent recourse to her Parliament, and as she was driven to appeal for increasing supplies the tone of the Houses rose higher and higher. On the question of taxation or monopolies her fierce spirit was forced to give way to their demands. On the question of religion she refused all concession, and England was driven to await a change of system from her successor. But it is clear, from the earlier acts of his reign, that James was preparing for a struggle with the Houses rather than for a policy of concession. During the Queen's reign, the power of Parliament had sprung mainly from the continuance of the war, and from the necessity under which the Crown lay of appealing to it for supplies. It is fair to the war party in Elizabeth's Council to remember that they were fighting, not merely for Protestantism abroad, but for constitutional liberty at home. When Essex overrode Burleigh's counsels of peace, the old minister pointed to the words of the Bible, "a blood-thirsty man shall not live out half his days." But Essex and his friends had nobler motives for their policy of war than a thirst for blood; as James had other motives for his policy of peace than a hatred of bloodshedding. The peace which he hastened to conclude with Spain was necessary to establish the security of his throne by depriving the Catholics, who alone questioned his title, of foreign aid. With the same object of averting a Catholic rising, he relaxed the penal laws against Catholics, and released recusants from payment of fines. But however justifiable such steps might be, the sterner Protestants heard angrily of negotiations with Spain and with the Papacy which seemed to show a withdrawal from the struggle with Catholicism at home and abroad.

The policy of James

The Parliament of 1604 met in another mood from that of any Parliament which had met for a hundred years. Short as had been the time since his accession, the temper of the King had already disclosed itself; and men were dwelling ominously on the claims of absolutism in Church and State which were constantly on his lips. Above all, the hopes of religious concessions to which the Puritans

The Parliament of 1604

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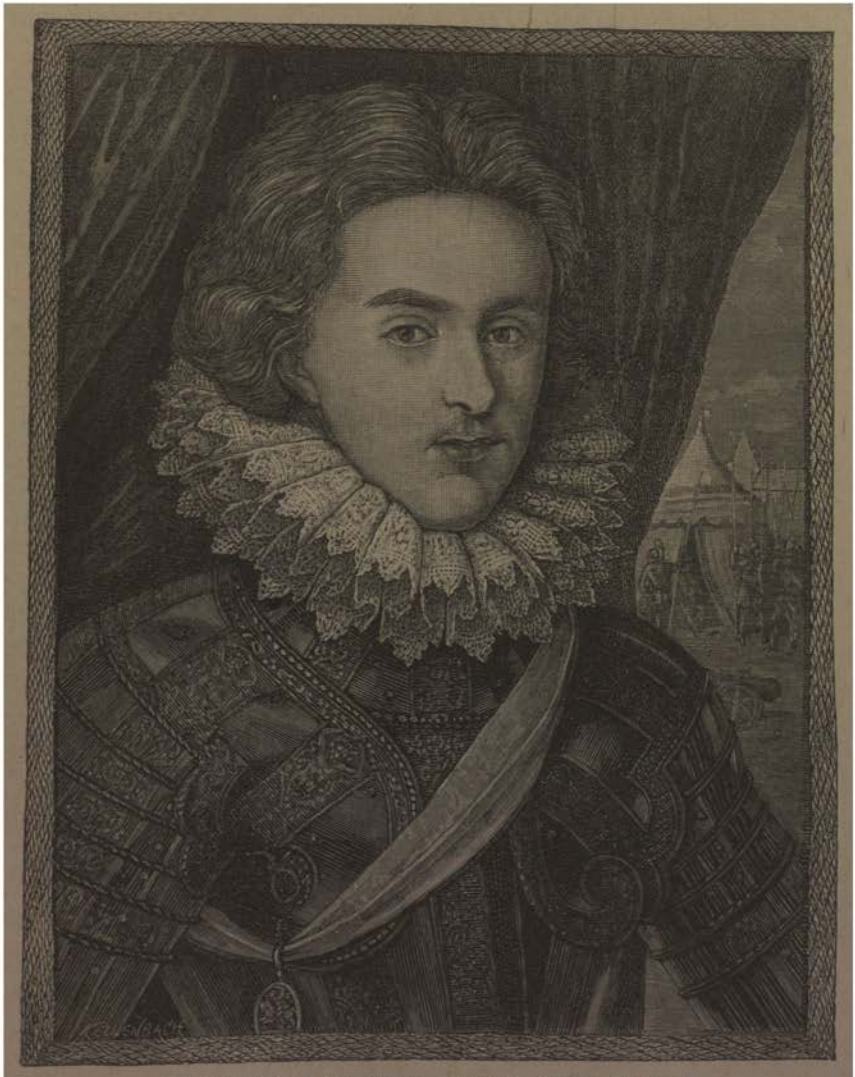
had clung had been dashed to the ground in the Hampton Court Conference; and of the squires and merchants who thronged the benches of Westminster three-fourths were in sympathy Puritan. They listened with coldness and suspicion to the proposals of the King for the union of England and Scotland under the name of

UNITE OF JAMES I., 1604.
First Coin which bore the Legend "Great Britain."

Great Britain. What the House was really set on was religious reform. The first step of the Commons was to name a committee to frame bills for the redress of the more crying ecclesiastical grievances; and the rejection of the measures they proposed was at once followed by an outspoken address to the King. The Parliament, it said, had come together in a spirit of peace: "Our desires were of peace only, and our device of unity." Their aim had been to put an end to the long-standing dissension among the ministers, and to preserve uniformity by the abandonment of "a few ceremonies of small importance," by the redress of some ecclesiastical abuses, and by the establishment of an efficient training for a preaching clergy. If they had waived their right to deal with these matters during the old age of Elizabeth, they asserted it now. "Let your Majesty be pleased to receive public information from your Commons in Parliament, as well of the abuses in the Church, as in the civil state and government." The claim of absolutism was met in words which sound like a prelude to the Petition of Right. "Your Majesty would be misinformed," said the address, "if any man should deliver that the Kings of England have any absolute power in themselves either to alter

Apology of the Commons



PRINCE HENRY OF WALES, ELDEST SON OF JAMES I.
Miniature by Isaac Oliver, in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

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religion, or to make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than as in temporal causes, by consent of Parliament." The address was met by a petulant scolding from James, and the Houses were adjourned. The support of the Crown emboldened the bishops to a fresh defiance of the Puritan pressure. The act of Elizabeth which sanctioned the Thirty-nine Articles compelled ministers to subscribe only to those which concerned the faith and the sacraments; but the Convocation of 1604 by its canons required subscription to the articles touching rites and ceremonies. The new archbishop, Bancroft, added a requirement of rigid conformity with the rubrics on the part of all beneficed clergymen. In the following spring three hundred of the Puritan clergy were driven from their livings for a refusal to comply with these demands.

The Gunpowder Plot

The breach with the Puritans was followed by a breach with the Catholics. The increase in their numbers since the remission of fines had spread a general panic; and Parliament had re-enacted the penal laws. A rumour of his own conversion so angered the King that these were now put in force with even more severity than of old. The despair of the Catholics gave fresh life to a conspiracy which had long been ripening. Hopeless of aid from abroad, or of success in an open rising at home, a small knot of desperate men, with Robert Catesby, who had taken part in the rising of Essex, at their head, resolved to destroy at a blow both King and Parliament. Barrels of powder were placed in a cellar beneath the Parliament House; and while waiting for the fifth of November, when the Parliament was summoned to meet, the plans of the little group widened into a formidable conspiracy. Catholics of greater fortune, such as Sir Everard Digby and Francis Tresham, were admitted to their confidence, and supplied money for the larger projects they designed. Arms were bought in Flanders, horses were held in readiness, a meeting of Catholic gentlemen was brought about under show of a hunting party to serve as the beginning of a rising. The destruction of the King was to be followed by the seizure of his children and an open revolt, in which aid might be called for from the Spaniards in Flanders. Wonderful as was the secrecy with which the plot was concealed, the family affection of Tresham at the last moment gave a clue to it by a letter to Lord Monteagle, his relative, which

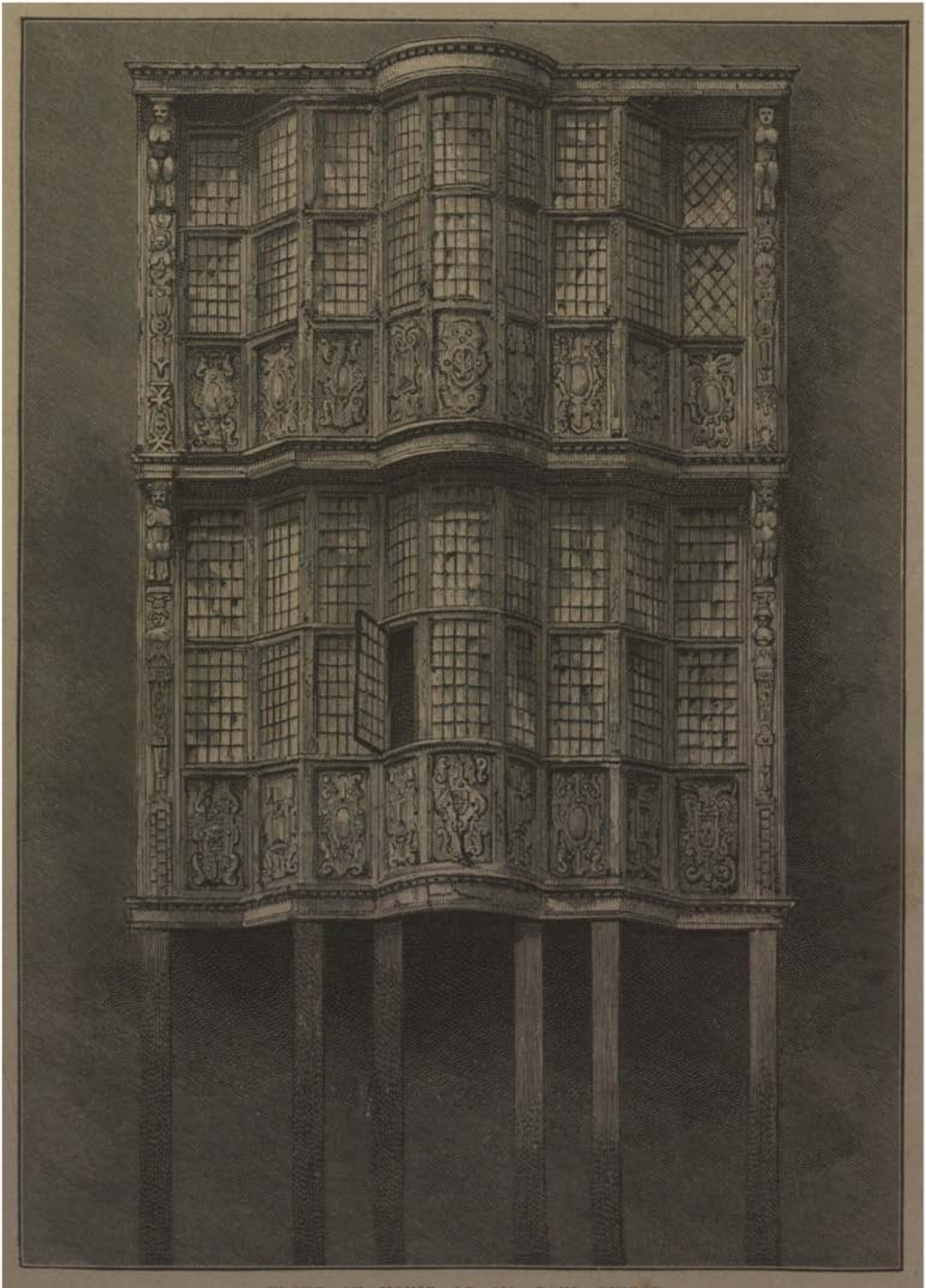
warned him to absent himself from the Parliament on the fatal day; and further information brought about the discovery of the cellar and of Guido Fawkes, a soldier of fortune, who was charged with the custody of it. The hunting party broke up in despair, the conspirators were chased from county to county, and either killed or sent to the block, and Garnet, the Provincial of the English Jesuits, was brought to trial and executed. He had shrunk from all part in the plot, but its existence had been made

THE GUNPOWDER PLOTTERS.
From Title-page of De Bry's "Warhafftige Beschreibung der Verrätherei," &c., Frankfurt, 1606.

known to him by another Jesuit, Greenway, and horror-stricken as he represented himself to have been he had kept the secret and left the Parliament to its doom.

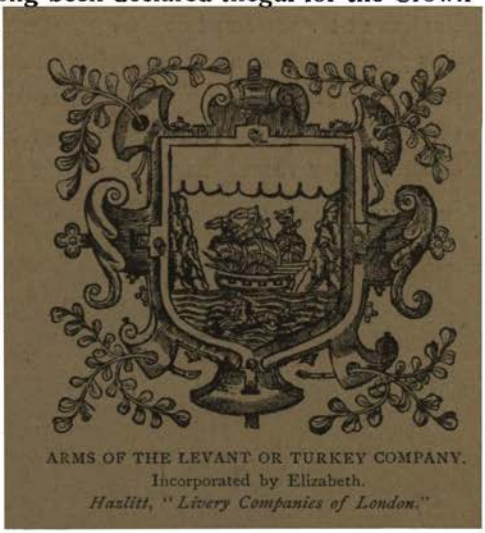
James and the Parliament

Parliament was drawn closer to the King by deliverance from a common peril, and when the Houses met in 1606 the Commons were willing to vote a sum large enough to pay the debt left by Elizabeth after the war. But the prodigality of James was fast raising his peace expenditure to the level of the war expenditure of Elizabeth; and he was driven by the needs of his treasury, and the desire to free himself from Parliamentary control, to seek new



FRONT OF HOUSE OF SIR PAUL PINDAR.
Built 1600; now in South Kensington Museum.

sources of revenue. His first great innovation was the imposition of customs duties. It had long been declared illegal for the Crown to levy any duties ungranted by Parliament save those on wool, leather, and tin. A duty on imports indeed had been imposed in one or two instances by Mary, and this impost had been extended by Elizabeth to currants and wine; but these instances were too trivial and exceptional to break in upon the general usage. A more dangerous precedent lay in the duties which the great trading companies, such as those to the Levant and to the Indies, exacted from merchants, in exchange—as was held—for the protection they afforded them in far-off seas. The Levant Company was now dissolved, and James seized on the duties it had levied as lapsing to the Crown. Parliament protested in vain. James cared quite as much to assert his absolute authority as to fill his treasury. A case therefore was brought before the Exchequer Chamber, and the judgement of the Court asserted the King's right to levy what customs duties he would at his pleasure. "All customs," said the Judges, "are the effects of foreign commerce, but all affairs of commerce and treaties with foreign nations belong to the King's absolute power. He therefore, who has power over the cause,



ARMS OF THE LEVANT OR TURKEY COMPANY.
Incorporated by Elizabeth.
Hazlitt, "Livery Companies of London."

ARMS OF THE AFRICAN COMPANY.
Incorporated 1588.
Hazlitt, "Livery Companies of London."

Bates's Case
1606

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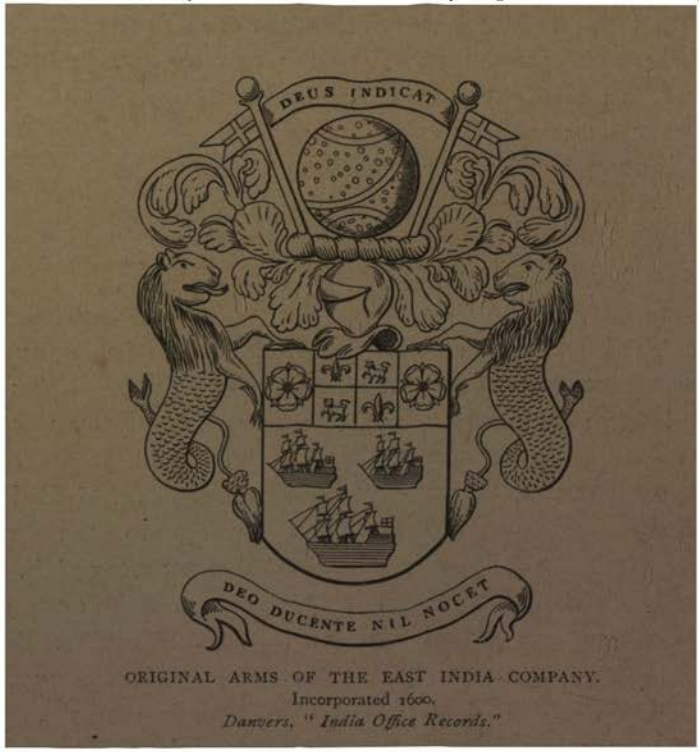
has power over the effect." The importance of a decision which would go far to free the Crown from the necessity of resorting to Parliament was seen keenly enough by James. English commerce was growing fast, and English merchants were fighting their way to the Spice-Islands, and establishing settlements in the dominions of the Mogul. The judgement gave James a revenue which was sure to grow rapidly, and the needs of his treasury forced him to action. After two years' hesitation a royal proclamation imposed

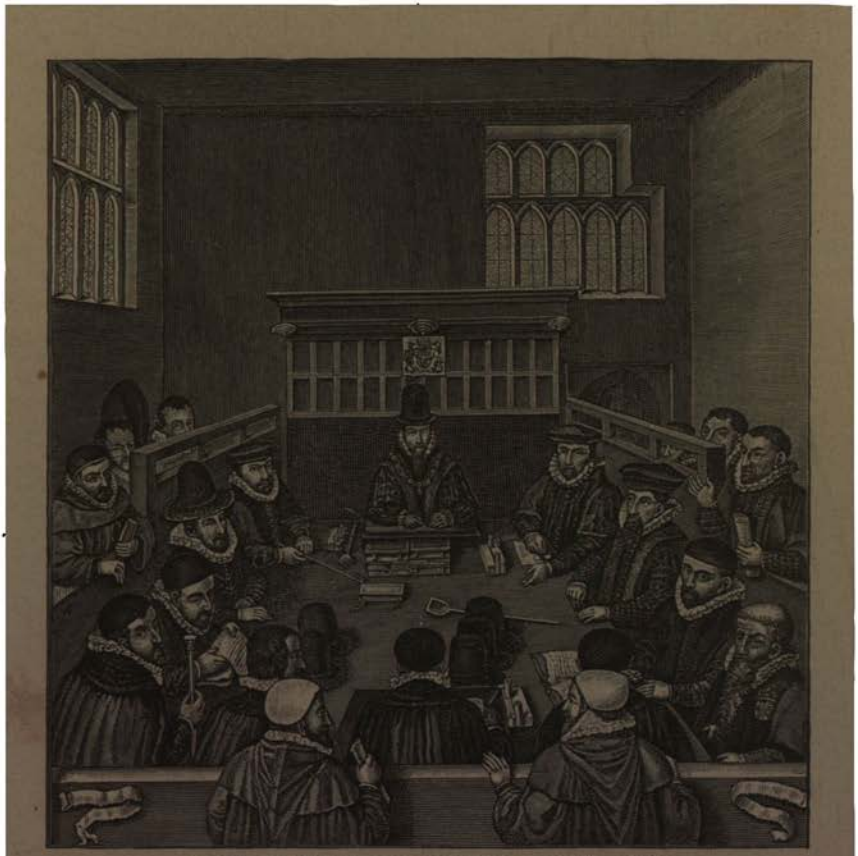


ORIGINAL ARMS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.
Incorporated 1600.
Danvers, "India Office Records."

a system of customs duties on many articles of export and import. But if the new impositions came in fast, the royal debt grew faster. Every year the expenditure of James reached a higher level, and necessity forced on the King a fresh assembling of Parliament. The "great contract" drawn up by Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, proposed that James should waive certain oppressive feudal rights, such as those of wardship and marriage, and the right of purveyance, on condition that the Commons raised the royal revenue by a sum of two hundred thousand a year. The

The Great Contract 1610

bargain failed however before the distrust of the Commons: and the King's demand for a grant to pay off the royal debt was met by a petition of grievances. They had jealously watched the new character given by James to royal proclamations, by which he



COURT OF WARDS AND LIVERIES, c. 1588—1598.
"Vetusta Monumenta"; from picture in Collection of Duke of Richmond.

created new offences, imposed new penalties, and called offenders before courts which had no legal jurisdiction over them. The province of the spiritual courts had been as busily enlarged. It was in vain that the judges, spurred no doubt by the old jealousy between civil and ecclesiastical lawyers, entertained appeals

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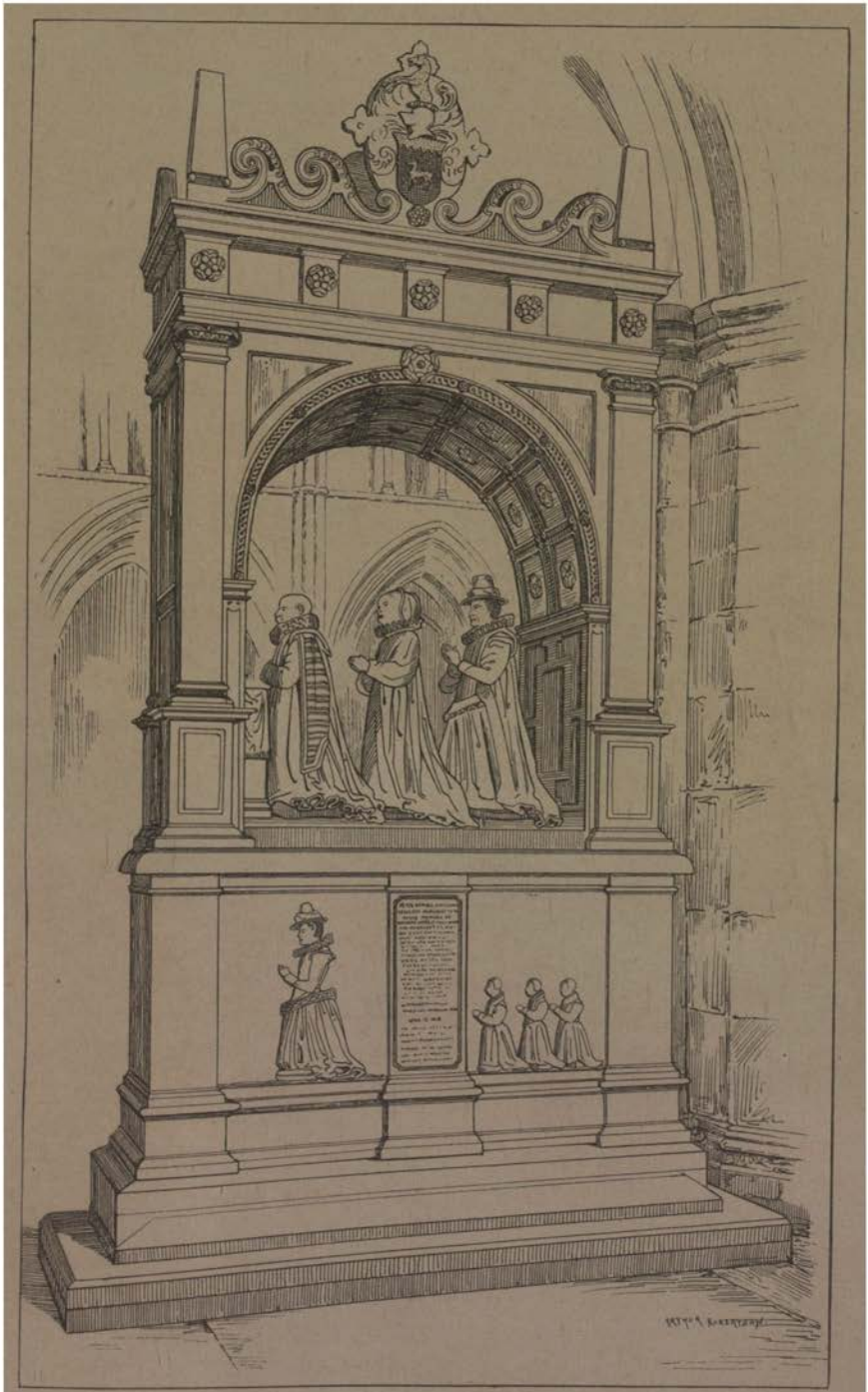
against the High Commission, and strove by a series of decisions to set bounds to its limitless claims of jurisdiction, or to restrict its powers of imprisonment to cases of schism and heresy. The judges were powerless against the Crown; and James was vehement in his support of courts which were closely bound up with his own prerogative. Were the treasury once full no means remained of redressing these evils. Nor were the Commons willing to pass over silently the illegalities of the past years. James forbade them to enter on the subject of the new duties, but their remonstrance was none the less vigorous. "Finding that your Majesty without advice or counsel of Parliament hath lately in time of peace set both greater impositions and more in number than any of your noble ancestors did ever in time of war," they prayed "that all impositions set without the assent of Parliament may be quite abolished and taken away," and that "a law be made to declare that all impositions set upon your people, their goods or merchandise, save only by common consent in Parliament, are and shall be void." As to Church grievances their demands were in the same spirit. They prayed that the deposed ministers might be suffered to preach, and that the jurisdiction of the High Commission should be regulated by statute; in other words, that ecclesiastical like financial matters should be taken out of the sphere of the prerogative and be owned as lying henceforth within the cognizance of Parliament. Whatever concessions James might offer on other subjects, he would allow no interference with his ecclesiastical prerogative; the Parliament was dissolved, and three years passed before the financial straits of the Government forced James to face the two houses again. But the spirit of resistance was now fairly roused. Never had an election stirred so much popular passion as that of 1614. In every case where

The Petition

CRESSET.
Seventeenth Century.
Tower of London.

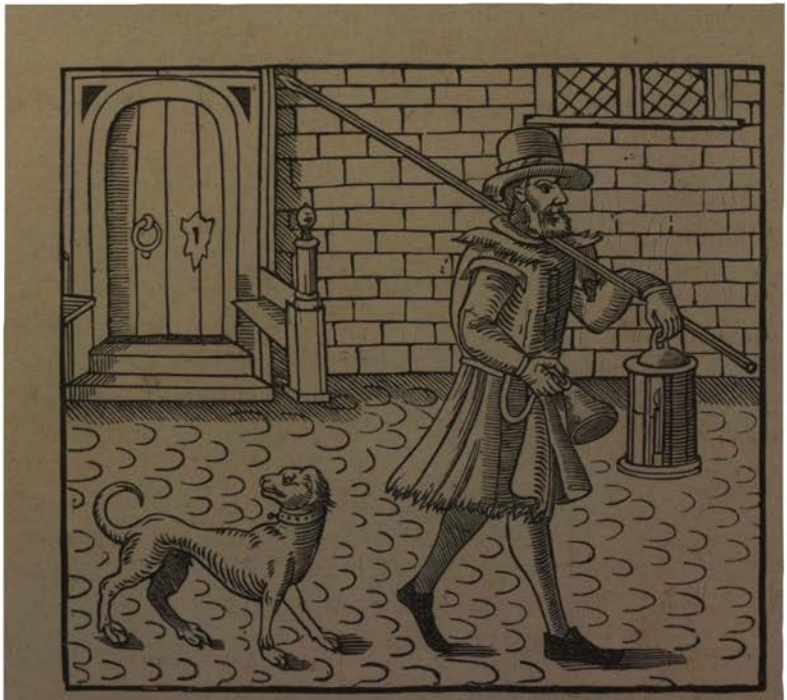
1611

1614



MONUMENT OF RICHARD HUMBLE (d. 1616), ALDERMAN OF LONDON, AND HIS FAMILY, IN THE CHURCH OF S. MARY OVERIE, SOUTHWARK.

rejection was possible, the court candidates were rejected. All the leading members of the popular party, or as we should now call it, the Opposition, were again returned. But three hundred of the members were wholly new men ; and among these we note for the first time the names of two leaders in the later struggle with the Crown. Yorkshire returned Thomas Wentworth ; St. Germans, John Eliot. Signs of an unprecedented excitement were seen in

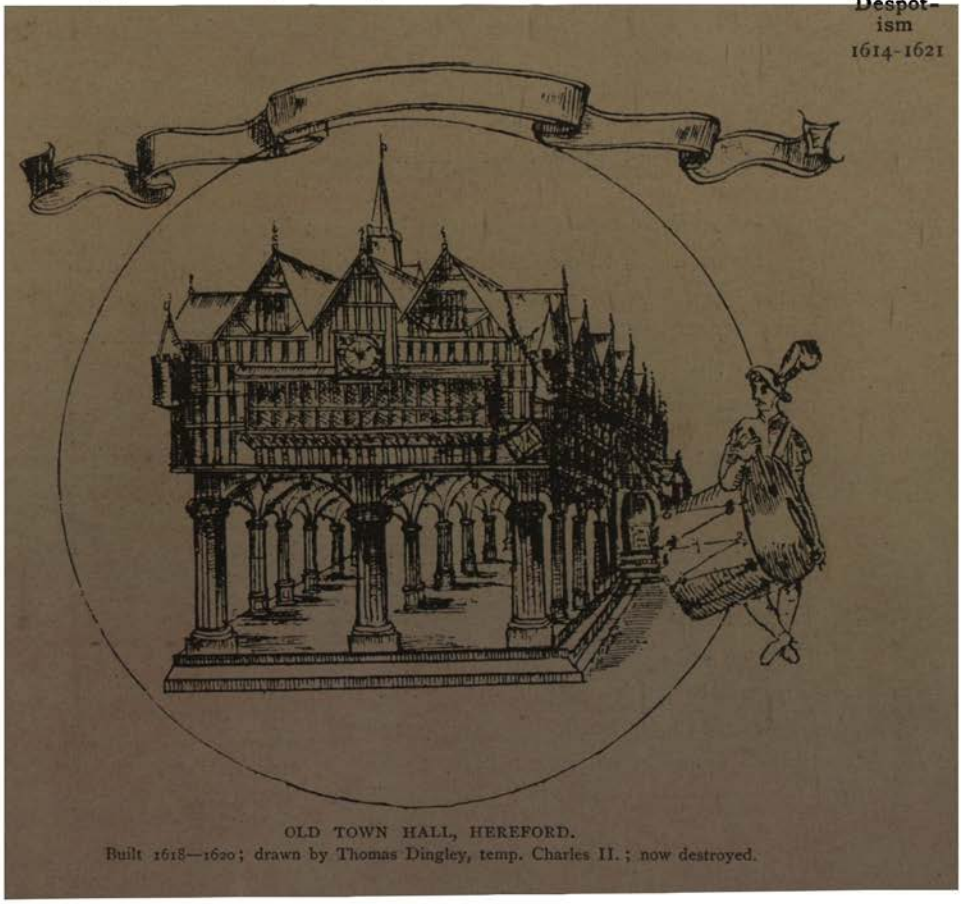


THE BELLMAN OF LONDON, 1616.
Title-page in Bagford Collection (British Museum).

the vehement cheering and hissing which for the first time marked the proceedings of the Commons. But the policy of the Parliament was precisely the same as that of its predecessors. It refused to grant supplies till it had considered public grievances, and it fixed on the impositions and the abuses of the Church as the first to be redressed. Unluckily the inexperience of the bulk of the House of Commons led it into quarrelling on a point of privilege with the Lords ; and the King, who had been frightened beyond his

wont at the vehemence of their tone and language, seized on the quarrel as a pretext for their dissolution.

Four of the leading members in the dissolved Parliament were sent to the Tower; and the terror and resentment which it had roused in the King's mind were seen in the obstinacy with which he long persisted in governing without any Parliament at all. For



OLD TOWN HALL, HEREFORD.
Built 1618—1620; drawn by Thomas Dingley, temp. Charles II.; now destroyed.

seven years he carried out with a blind recklessness his theory of an absolute rule, unfettered by any scruples as to the past, or any dread of the future. All the abuses which Parliament after Parliament had denounced were not only continued, but carried to a greater extent than before. The spiritual courts were encouraged in fresh encroachments. Though the Crown lawyers admitted the

Benevolences

illegality of proclamations they were issued in greater numbers than ever. Impositions were strictly levied. But the treasury was still empty; and a fatal necessity at last drove James to a formal breach of law. He fell back on a resource which even Wolsey in the height of the Tudor power had been forced to abandon. But the letters from the Council demanding benevolences or gifts from the richer landowners remained generally unanswered. In the three years which followed the dissolution of 1614 the strenuous efforts of the sheriffs only raised sixty thousand pounds, a sum less than two-thirds of the value of a single subsidy; and although the remonstrances of the western counties were roughly silenced by the threats of the Council, two counties, those of Hereford and Stafford, sent not a penny to the last. In his distress for money James was driven to expedients which widened the breach between the gentry and the Crown. He had refused to part with the feudal rights which came down to him from the Middle Ages, such as his right to the wardship of young heirs and the marriage of heiresses, and these were steadily used as a means of extortion. He degraded the nobility by a shameless sale of peerages. Of the forty-five lay peers whom he added to the Upper House during his reign, many were created by sheer bargaining. A proclamation which forbade the increase of houses in London brought heavy fines into the treasury. By shifts such as these James put off from day to day the necessity for again encountering the one body which could permanently arrest his effort after despotic rule. But there still remained a body whose tradition was strong enough, not indeed to arrest, but to check it. The lawyers had been subservient beyond all other classes to the Crown. In the narrow pedantry with which they bent before isolated precedents, without realizing the conditions under which these precedents had been framed, and to which they owed their very varying value, the judges had supported James in his claims. But beyond precedents even the judges refused to go. They had done their best, in a case that came before them, to restrict the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts within legal and definite bounds: and when James asserted an inherent right in the King to be heard before judgement was delivered, whenever any case affecting the prerogative came before his courts, they timidly, but firmly, repudiated such a right as unknown to the law. James

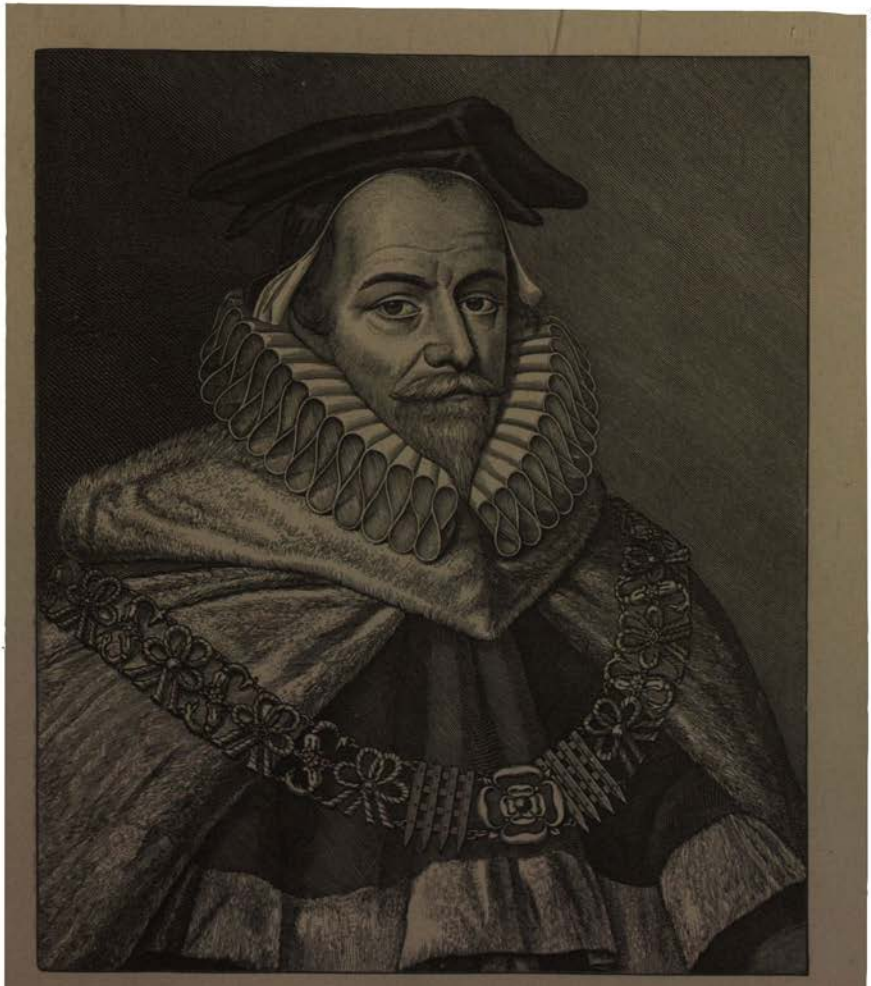
The Crown and the Law

JUDGES IN THEIR ROBES

Temp. ELIZABETH

From MS. Add. 28330 (British Museum)

sent for them to the Royal closet, and rated them like school-boys, till they fell on their knees, and, with a single exception, pledged themselves to obey his will. The Chief-Justice, Sir Edward Coke,



SIR EDWARD COKE.
From an Engraving by David Loggan.

a narrow-minded and bitter-tempered man, but of the highest eminence as a lawyer, and with a reverence for the law that overrode every other instinct, alone remained firm. When any case came before him, he answered, he would act as it became a judge

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Dismissal of Coke
1616

to act. Coke was at once dismissed from the Council, and a provision which made the judicial office tenable at the King's pleasure, but which had long fallen into disuse, was revived to humble the common law in the person of its chief officer; on the continuance of his resistance he was deprived of his post of Chief-Justice. No act of James seems to have stirred a deeper resentment among Englishmen than this announcement of his will to tamper with the course of justice. It was an outrage on the growing sense of law, as the profusion and profligacy of the court were an outrage on the growing sense of morality. The treasury was drained to furnish masques and revels on a scale of unexampled splendour. Lands and jewels were lavished on young adventurers, whose fair faces caught the royal fancy. If the court of Elizabeth was as immoral as that of her successor, its immorality

"KNIPERDOLING."
Court Satire on an Anabaptist, sketched by Inigo Jones for a Masque.

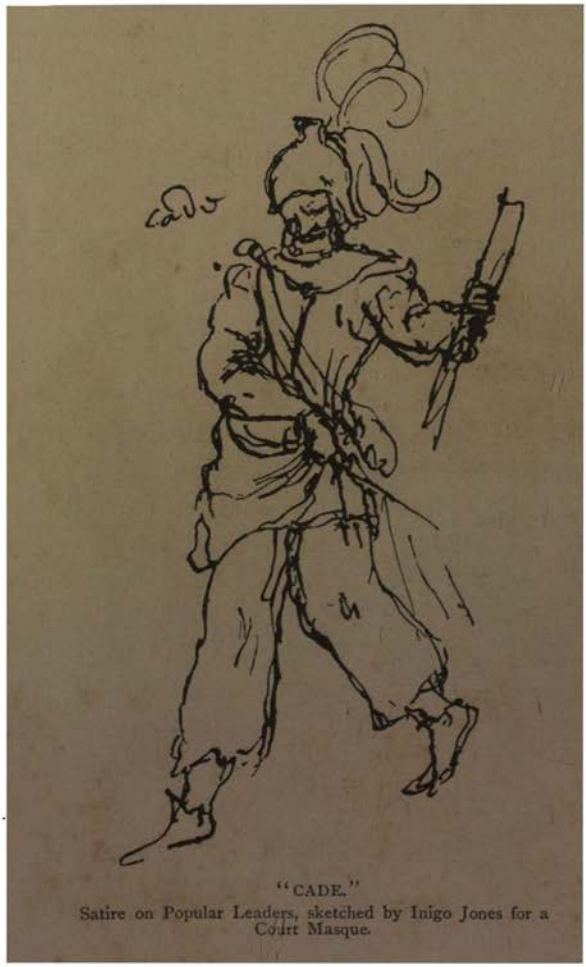
The Court

had been shrouded by a veil of grace and chivalry. But no veil hid the degrading grossness of the court of James. The King was held, though unjustly, to be a drunkard. Actors in a masque performed at court were seen rolling intoxicated at his

FIGURES DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES FOR THE MASQUE OF "THE FORTUNATE ISLES."

feet. A scandalous trial showed great nobles and officers of state in league with cheats and astrologers and poisoners. James himself had not shrunk from meddling busily in the divorce of Lady Essex; and her subsequent bridal with one of his favourites

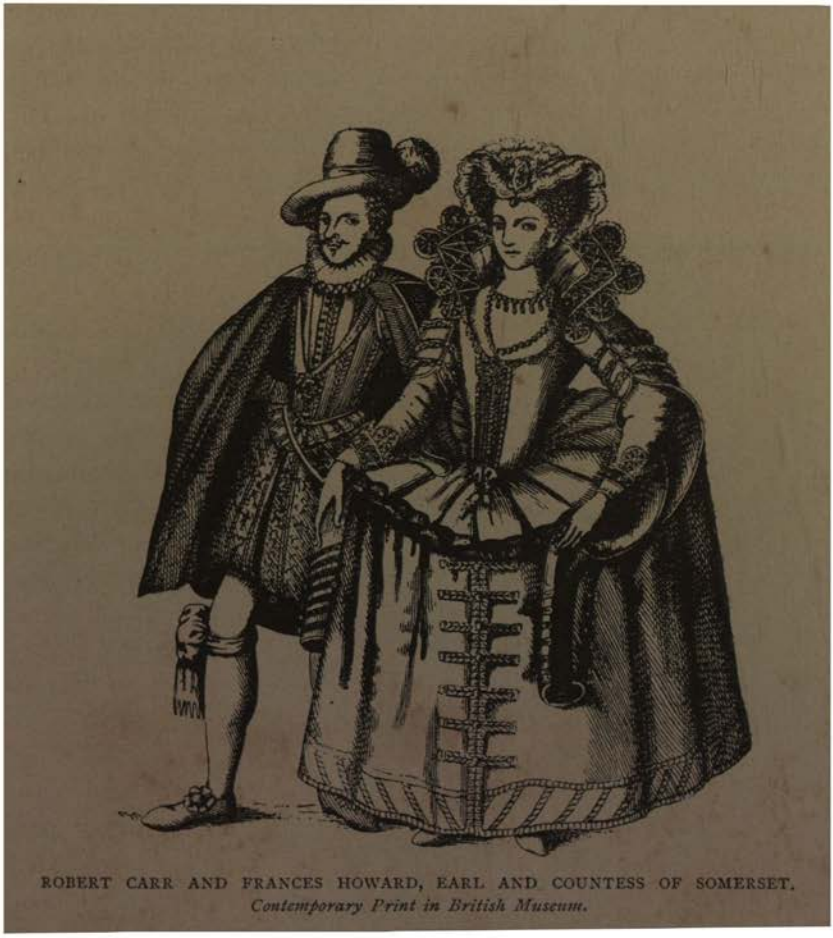
was celebrated in his presence. Before scenes such as these, the half-idolatrous reverence with which the sovereign had been regarded throughout the period of the Tudors died away into abhorrence and contempt. The players openly mocked at the King on the stage. Mrs. Hutchinson denounced the orgies of Whitehall in words as fiery as those with which Elijah denounced the sensuality of Jezebel. But the immorality of James's court was hardly more despicable than the folly of his government. In the silence of Parliament, the royal Council, composed as it was not merely of the ministers, but of the higher nobles and hereditary officers of state, had served even under a despot like Henry the Eighth as a check upon the arbitrary will of the sovereign. But after the death of Lord Burleigh's son, Robert Cecil, the minister whom Elizabeth had bequeathed to him, and whose services in procuring his accession were rewarded by the Earldom of Salisbury, all real control over affairs was withdrawn by James from the Council, and entrusted to worthless favourites whom the King chose to raise to honour. A Scotch page named



"CADE."
Satire on Popular Leaders, sketched by Inigo Jones for a Court Masque.

The Favourites

Carr was created Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset, and married after her divorce to Lady Essex. Supreme in State affairs, domestic and foreign, he was at last hurled from favour and power on the charge of a horrible crime, the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury by poison, of which he and his Countess



ROBERT CARR AND FRANCES HOWARD, EARL AND COUNTESS OF SOMERSET.
Contemporary Print in British Museum.

were convicted of being the instigators. Another favourite was already prepared to take his place. George Villiers, a handsome young adventurer, was raised rapidly through every rank of the peerage, made Marquis and Duke of Buckingham, and entrusted with the appointment to high offices of state. The

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payment of bribes to him, or marriage with his greedy relatives, became the one road to political preferment. Resistance to his will was inevitably followed by dismissal from office. Even the highest and most powerful of the nobles were made to tremble at the nod of this young upstart. "Never any man in any age, nor, I believe, in any country," says the astonished Clarendon, "rose in so short a time to so much greatness of honour, power, or fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation than of the beauty or gracefulness of his person." Buckingham indeed had no inconsiderable abilities, but his self-confidence and recklessness were equal to his beauty; and the haughty young favourite on whose neck James loved to loll, and whose cheek he slobbered with kisses, was destined to drag down in his fatal career the throne of the Stuarts.

The Spanish Policy

The new system was even more disastrous in its results abroad than at home. The withdrawal of power from the Council left James in effect his own chief minister, and master of the control of affairs as no English sovereign had been before him. At his accession he found the direction of foreign affairs in the hands of Salisbury, and so long as Salisbury lived the Elizabethan policy was in the main adhered to. Peace, indeed, was made with Spain; but a close alliance with the United Provinces, and a more guarded alliance with France, held the ambition of Spain in check almost as effectually as war. When danger grew threatening in Germany from the Catholic zeal of the House of Austria, the marriage of the
1612 King's daughter, Elizabeth, with the heir of the Elector-Palatine promised English support to its Protestant powers. But the death of Salisbury, and the dissolution of the Parliament of 1614, were quickly followed by a disastrous change. James at once proceeded to undo all that the struggle of Elizabeth and the triumph of the Armada had done. His quick, shallow intelligence held that in a joint action with Spain it had found a way by which the Crown might at once exert weight abroad, and be rendered independent of the nation at home. A series of negotiations was begun for the marriage of his son with a Princess of Spain. Each of his
1617 successive favourites supported the Spanish alliance; and after years of secret intrigue the King's intentions were proclaimed to the world, at the moment when the policy of the House of Austria

threatened the Protestants of Southern Germany with utter ruin or civil war. From whatever quarter the first aggression should come,

ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY.
From an Engraving by Elstrak.

it was plain that a second great struggle in arms between Protestantism and Catholicism was to be fought out on German soil.

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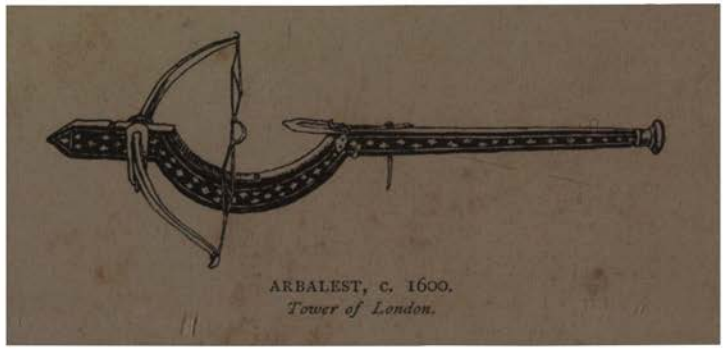
It was their prescience of the coming conflict which, on the very eve of the crisis, spurred a party among his ministers who still clung to the traditions of Salisbury to support an enterprise which promised to detach the King from his new policy by entangling him in a war with Spain. Sir Walter Ralegh, the one great warrior of the Elizabethan time who still lingered on, had been imprisoned ever

Ralegh's death

GERMAN CROSS-BOW, c. 1600.
Tower of London.

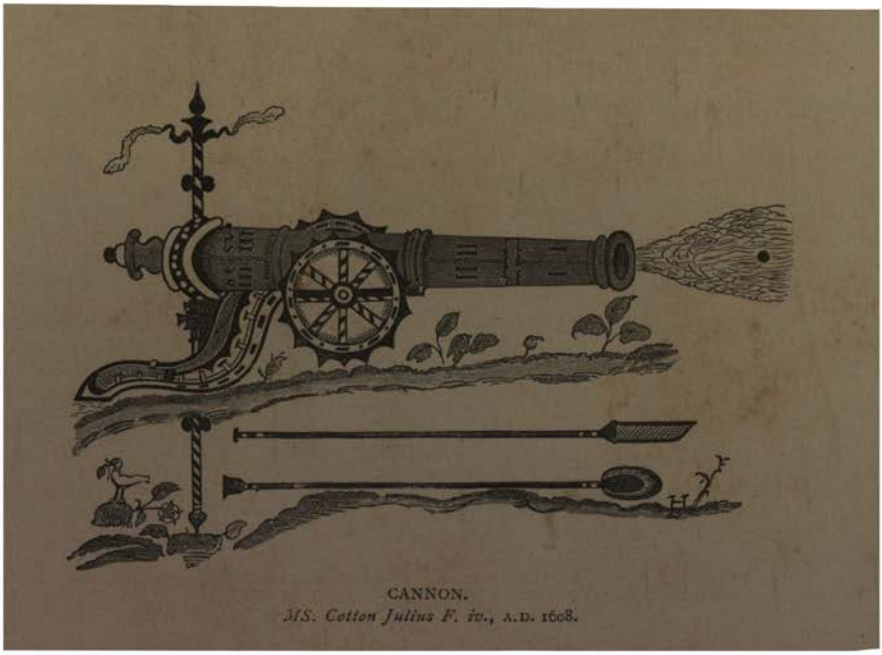
since the beginning of the new reign in the Tower on a charge of treason. He now disclosed to James his knowledge of a gold-mine on the Orinoco, and prayed that he might sail thither and work its treasures for the King. The King was tempted by the bait of gold; but he forbade any attack on Spanish territory, or the shedding of Spanish blood. Ralegh however had risked his



ARBALEST, c. 1600.
Tower of London.

head again and again, he believed in the tale he told, and he knew that if war could be brought about between England and Spain a new career was open to him. He found the coast occupied by Spanish troops; evading direct orders to attack he sent his men up the country, where they plundered a Spanish town, found no gold-mine, and came broken and defeated back. The daring of

the man saw a fresh resource; he proposed to seize the Spanish treasure ships as he returned, and, like Drake, to turn the heads of nation and King by the immense spoil. But his men would not follow him, and he was brought home to face his doom. James at once put his old sentence in force; and the death of the broken-hearted adventurer on the scaffold atoned for the affront to Spain. The failure of Ralegh came at a critical moment in German history. The religious truce which had so long preserved the peace of Germany was broken in 1618 by the revolt of Bohemia



CANNON.
MS. Cotton Julius F. iv., A.D. 1608.

against the rule of the Catholic House of Austria; and when the death of the Emperor Matthias raised his cousin Ferdinand in 1619 to the Empire and to the throne of Bohemia, its nobles declared the realm vacant and chose Frederick, the young Elector Palatine, as their King. The German Protestants were divided by the fatal jealousy between their Lutheran and Calvinist princes; but it was believed that Frederick's election could unite them, and the Bohemians counted on England's support when they chose James's son-in-law for their king. A firm policy would at any rate

The Thirty Years' War

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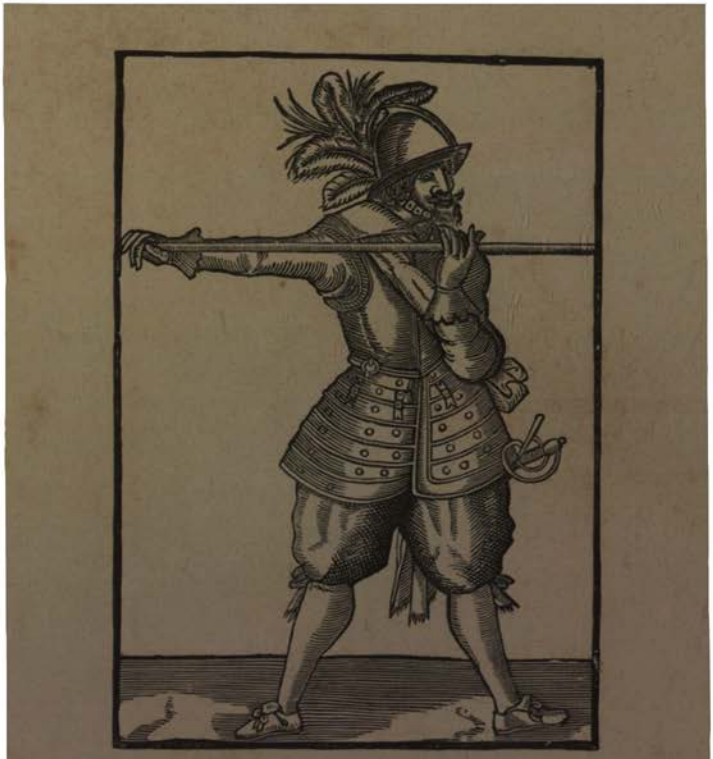
THE FIRST OF THE STUARTS
1604 TO 1623

have held Spain inactive, and limited the contest to Germany itself. But the "statecraft" on which James prided himself led him to count, not on Spanish fear, but on Spanish friendship. He refused aid to the Protestant Union of the German Princes when they espoused the cause of Bohemia, and threatened war against Holland, the one power which was earnest in the Palatine's cause. It was in vain that both court and people were unanimous in their



PIKEMAN.
Temp. James I.
Broadside (Society of Antiquaries).

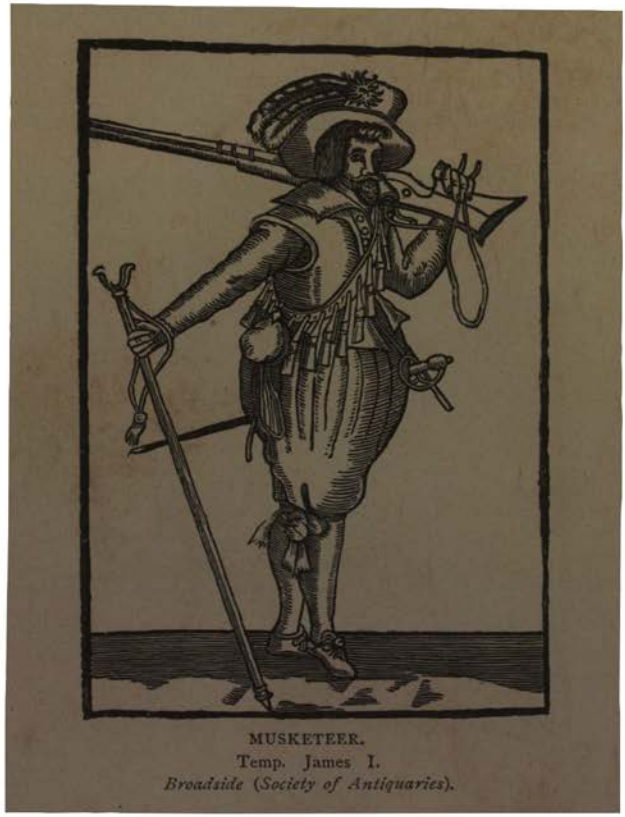
cry for war. James still pressed his son-in-law to withdraw from Bohemia, and relied in such a case on the joint efforts of England and Spain to restore peace. But Frederick refused consent, and Spain quickly threw aside the mask. Her famous battalions were soon moving up the Rhine to the aid of the Emperor; and their march turned the local struggle in Bohemia into a European war.

Nov. 1620 While the Spaniards occupied the Palatinate, the army of the

Catholic League under Maximilian of Bavaria marched down the Danube, reduced Austria to submission, and forced Frederick to battle before the walls of Prague. Before the day was over he was galloping off, a fugitive, to North Germany, to find the Spaniards encamped as its masters in the heart of the Palatinate.

The Parliament of 1621

James had been duped, and for the moment he bent before the burst of popular fury which the danger to German Protestantism



MUSKETEER.
Temp. James I.
Broadside (Society of Antiquaries).

called up. He had already been brought to suffer Sir Horace Vere to take some English volunteers to the Palatinate. But the succour had come too late. The cry for a Parliament, the necessary prelude to a war, overpowered the King's secret resistance; and the Houses were again called together. But the Commons were bitterly chagrined as they found only demands for supplies, and a persistence in the old efforts to patch up a peace.

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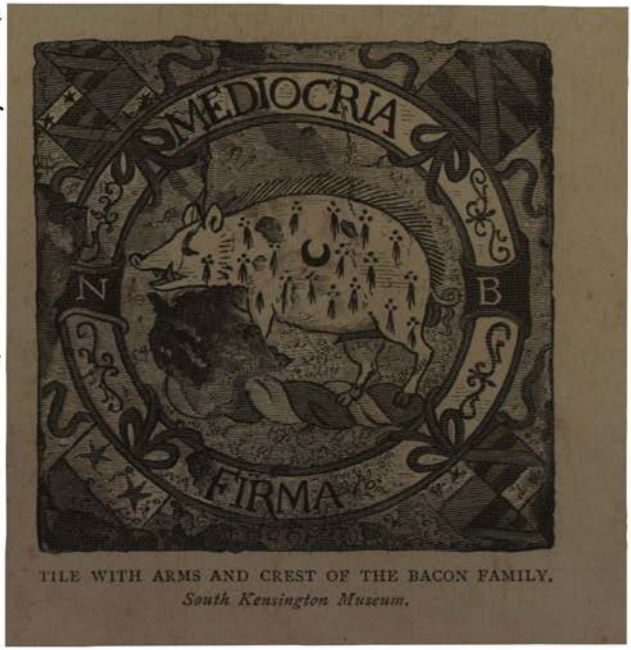
James even sought the good will of the Spaniards by granting license for the export of arms to Spain. The resentment of the Commons found expression in their dealings with home affairs. The most crying constitutional grievance arose from the revival of monopolies, in spite of the pledge of Elizabeth to suppress them. A parliamentary right which had slept ever since the reign of Henry VI., the right of the Lower House to impeach great offenders at the bar of the Lords, was revived against the monopolists; and James was driven by the general indignation to leave them to their

KNIGHT OF THE GARTER AND ATTENDANT.
Album of G. Holtzschuher of Nuremberg, 1623—1625. *MS. Eg.* 1624.

fate. But the practice of monopolies was only one sign of the corruption of the court. Sales of peerages and offices of state had raised a general disgust; and this disgust showed itself in the impeachment of the highest among the officers of State, the Chancellor, Francis Bacon, the most distinguished man of his time for learning and ability. At the accession of James the rays of royal favour had broken slowly upon Bacon. He became successively Solicitor and Attorney-General; the year of Shakspere's death saw him called to the Privy Council; he verified

Fall of Bacon

Elizabeth's prediction by becoming Lord Keeper. At last the goal of his ambition was reached. He had attached himself to the rising fortunes of Buckingham, and the favour of Buckingham made him Lord Chancellor. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Verulam, and created, at a later time, Viscount St. Albans. But the nobler dreams for which these meaner honours had been sought escaped his grasp. His projects still remained projects, while to retain his hold on office he was stooping to a miserable compliance with the worst excesses of Buckingham and his royal master. The years during which he held the Chancellorship were the most disgraceful years of a disgraceful reign. They saw the execution of Ralegh, the sacrifice of the Palatinate, the exaction of benevolences, the multiplication of monopolies, the supremacy of Buckingham. Against none of the acts of folly and wickedness which distinguished James's Government did Bacon do more than protest; in some of the worst, and above all in the attempt to coerce the judges into prostrating law at the King's feet, he took a personal part. But even his remonstrances were too much for the young favourite, who regarded him as the mere creature of his will. It was in vain that Bacon flung himself on the Duke's mercy, and begged him to pardon a single instance of opposition to his caprice. A Parliament was impending, and Buckingham resolved to avert from himself the storm which was gathering by sacrificing to it his meaner dependants. To ordinary eyes the Chancellor was at the summit of human success. Jonson had just sung of



TILE WITH ARMS AND CREST OF THE BACON FAMILY.
South Kensington Museum.

him as one "whose even thread the Fates spin round and full out of their choicest and their whitest wool," when the storm burst. The Commons charged Bacon with corruption in the exercise of his office. It had been customary among Chancellors to receive gifts from successful suitors after their suit was ended. Bacon, it is certain, had taken such gifts from men whose suits were still unsettled; and though his judgement may have been unaffected by them, the fact of their reception left him with no valid defence. He at once pleaded guilty to the charge. "I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence." "I beseech your Lordships," he added, "to be merciful to a broken reed." The heavy fine imposed on him was remitted by the Crown; but the Great Seal was taken from him, and he was declared incapable of holding office in the State or of sitting in Parliament. Bacon's fall restored him to that position of real greatness from which his ambition had so long torn him away. "My conceit of his person," said Ben Jonson, "was never increased towards him by his place or honours. But I have and do reverence him for his greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever by his work one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength: for greatness he could not want." His intellectual activity was never more conspicuous than in the last four years of his life. He had presented "Novum Organum" to James in the year before his fall; in the year after it he produced his "Natural and Experimental History." He began a digest of the laws, and a "History of England under the Tudors," revised and expanded his "Essays," dictated a jest book, and busied himself with experiments in physics. It was while studying the effect of cold in preventing animal putrefaction that he stopped his coach to stuff a fowl with snow and caught the fever which ended in his death.

Death of Bacon 1626

Dissolution of the Parliament

James was too shrewd to mistake the importance of Bacon's impeachment; but the hostility of Buckingham to the Chancellor, and Bacon's own confession of his guilt, made it difficult to resist his condemnation. Energetic too as its measures were against corruption and monopolists, the Parliament respected scrupulously the King's prejudices in other matters; and even when checked by

an adjournment, resolved unanimously to support him in any earnest effort for the Protestant cause. A warlike speech from a member before the adjournment roused an enthusiasm which recalled the days of Elizabeth. The Commons answered the appeal by a unanimous vote, "lifting their hats as high as they could hold them," that for the recovery of the Palatinate they would adventure their fortunes, their estates, and their lives. "Rather this declaration," cried a leader of the country party when it was read by the Speaker, "than ten thousand men already on the march." For the moment the resolve seemed to give vigour to the royal policy. James had aimed throughout at the restitution of Bohemia to Ferdinand, and at inducing the Emperor, through the mediation of Spain, to abstain from any retaliation on the Palatinate. He now freed himself for a moment from the trammels of diplomacy, and enforced a cessation of the attack on his son-in-law's dominions by a threat of war. The suspension of arms lasted through the summer; but mere threats could do no more, and on the conquest of the Upper Palatinate by the forces of the Catholic League, James fell back on his old policy of mediation through the aid of Spain. The negotiations for the marriage with the Infanta were pressed more busily. Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, who had become all-powerful at the English court, was assured that no effectual aid should be sent to the Palatinate. The English fleet, which was cruising by way of menace off the Spanish coast, was called home. The King dismissed those of his ministers who still opposed a Spanish policy; and threatened on trivial pretexts a war with the Dutch, the one great Protestant power that remained in alliance with England, and was ready to back the Elector. But he had still to reckon with his Parliament; and the first act of the Parliament on its re-assembling was to demand a declaration of war with Spain. The instinct of the nation was wiser than the statecraft of the King. Ruined and enfeebled as she really was, Spain to the world at large still seemed the champion of Catholicism. It was the entry of her troops into the Palatinate which had first widened the local war in Bohemia into a great struggle for the suppression of Protestantism along the Rhine; above all it was Spanish influence, and the hopes

June, 1621

Nov. 1621

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held out of a marriage of his son with a Spanish Infanta, which were luring the King into his fatal dependence on the great enemy of the Protestant cause. In their petition the Houses coupled with their demands for war the demand of a Protestant marriage for their future King. Experience proved in later years how perilous it was for English freedom that the heir to the Crown should be brought up under a Catholic mother; but James was beside himself at their presumption in dealing with mysteries of state. "Bring stools for the Ambassadors," he cried in bitter

CHARLES I., AS PRINCE OF WALES.
Miniature by Peter Oliver, in the Royal Collection at Windsor.

irony as their committee appeared before him. He refused the petition, forbade any further discussion of state policy, and threatened the speakers with the Tower. "Let us resort to our prayers," a member said calmly as the King's letter was read, "and then consider of this great business." The temper of the House was seen in the Protestation which met the royal command to abstain from discussion. It resolved "That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning

Protestation of the Commons

the King, state, and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament. And that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses every member of the House hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same."

The King answered the Protestation by a characteristic outrage. He sent for the Journals of the House, and with his own hand tore out the pages which contained it. "I will govern," he said,

ROCKING-HORSE OF CHARLES I.
From the Old Palace, Theobald's Grove; now in the Great House, Cheshunt.

"according to the common weal, but not according to the common will." A few days after he dissolved the Parliament. "It is *Dec.* 1621 the best thing that has happened in the interests of Spain and of the Catholic religion since Luther began preaching," wrote the Count of Gondomar to his master, in his joy that all danger of war had passed away. "I am ready to depart," Sir Henry Savile, on the other hand, murmured on his death-bed, "the rather that having lived in good times I foresee worse." Abroad

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indeed all was lost; and Germany plunged wildly and blindly forward into the chaos of the Thirty Years' War. But for England the victory of freedom was practically won. James had himself ruined the main bulwarks of the monarchy. In his desire for personal government he had destroyed the authority of the Council. He had accustomed men to think lightly of the ministers of the Crown, to see them browbeaten by favourites, and driven from office for corruption. He had disenchanted his people of their blind faith in the monarchy by a policy at home and abroad

LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, SWORD-BEARER AND SEAL-BEARER.
Album of G. Holtzschuher of Nuremberg, 1623—1625.
MS. Eg. 1264.

which ran counter to every national instinct. He had quarrelled with, and insulted the Houses, as no English sovereign had ever done before; and all the while the authority he boasted of was passing, without his being able to hinder it, to the Parliament which he outraged. There was shrewdness as well as anger in his taunt at its "ambassadors." A power had at last risen up in the Commons with which the Monarchy was henceforth to reckon. In spite of the King's petulant outbreaks, Parliament had asserted its exclusive right to the control of taxation. It

had attacked monopolies. It had reformed abuses in the courts of law. It had revived the right of impeaching and removing from office the highest ministers of the Crown. It had asserted its privilege of free discussion on all questions connected with the welfare of the realm. It had claimed to deal with the question of religion. It had even declared its will on the sacred "mystery" of foreign policy. James might tear the Protestation from its Journals, but there were pages in the record of the Parliament of 1621 which he never could tear out.

LADY MAYORESS AND ATTENDANTS.
Album of G. Holtzschuher of Nuremberg, 1623—1625.
MS. Eg. 1264.

Einzug des Printzen in Engellandt, so den 23. Martij Anno 1623. zu MADRILL in Spanien geschehen.
Königs Pallast
Der Statt Scepter tragen.
Hoffrichten.
Capitain der Leibguart
Hauptleute.
Ihrer Maiestet Scepter tragen.
Comedianten
Der Spanische Leib Guardi Leutenant
Grosse Herrn von Spanien oder Titulati.
Der Printz von Galles
Graff von Olivares Admiral in Engellandt
Ihrer M.t Leibbarn schier Trabanten
Die vier Heroldten oder Wapen Konige
Der Statt Madrill Obrigkeit so den Himmel tragen.

ENTRY OF PRINCE CHARLES INTO MADRID, 1623.
Contemporary German Print.

Section III.—The King and the Parliament, 1623—1629

[*Authorities.*—For the first part of this period we have still Mr. Gardiner's "History of England from the Accession of James I.," which throws a full and fresh light on one of the most obscure times in our history. His work is as valuable for the early reign of Charles, a period well illustrated by Mr. Forster's "Life of Sir John Eliot." Among the general accounts of the reign of Charles, Mr. Disraeli's "Commentaries on the Reign of Charles I." is the most prominent on the one side; Brodie's "History of the British Empire," and Godwin's "History of the Commonwealth," on the other. M. Guizot's work is accurate and impartial, and Lingard of especial value for the history of the English Catholics, and for his detail of foreign affairs. For the ecclesiastical side see Laud's "Diary." The Commons Journal gives the proceedings of the Parliaments. Throughout this period the Calendars of State Papers, now issuing under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, are of the greatest historic value. Ranke's "History of England in the Seventeenth Century" is important for the whole Stuart period.]

The Spanish Marriage

In the obstinacy with which he clung to his Spanish policy James stood absolutely alone; for not only the old nobility and the statesmen who preserved the tradition of the age of Elizabeth, but even his own ministers, with the exception of Buckingham, and the Treasurer, Cranfield, were at one with the Commons. The King's aim, as we have said, was to enforce peace on the combatants, and to bring about the restitution of the Palatinate to the Elector, through the influence of Spain. It was to secure this influence that he pressed for a closer union with the great Catholic power; and of this union, and the success of the policy which it embodied, the marriage of his son Charles with the Infanta, which had been held out as a lure to his vanity, was to be the sign. But the more James pressed for this consummation of his projects, the more Spain held back. At last Buckingham proposed to force the Spaniard's hand by the arrival of Charles himself at the Spanish Court. The Prince quitted England in disguise, and appeared with Buckingham at Madrid to claim his bride. It was in vain that Spain rose in 1623
its demands; for every new demand was met by fresh concessions on the part of England. The abrogation of the penal laws

PRINCE CHARLES'S WELCOME HOME FROM SPAIN, 1623.
Broadside in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

against the Catholics, a Catholic education for the Prince's children, a Catholic household for the Infanta, all were no sooner asked than they were granted. But the marriage was still delayed, while the influence of the new policy on the war in Germany was hard to see. The Catholic League and its army, under the command of Count Tilly, won triumph after triumph over their divided foes. The reduction of Heidelberg and Mannheim completed the conquest of the Palatinate, whose Elector fled helplessly to Holland, while his Electoral dignity was transferred by the Emperor to the Duke of Bavaria. But there was still no sign of the hoped-for intervention on the part of Spain. At last the pressure of Charles himself brought about the disclosure of the secret of its policy. "It is a maxim of state with us," Olivares confessed, as the Prince demanded an energetic interference in Germany, "that the King of Spain must never fight against the Emperor. We cannot employ our forces against the Emperor." "If you hold to that," replied the Prince, "there is an end of all."

Charles the First

His return was the signal for a burst of national joy. All London was alight with bonfires, in her joy at the failure of the Spanish match, and of the collapse, humiliating as it was, of the policy which had so long trailed English honour at the chariot-wheels of Spain. Charles returned to take along with Buckingham the direction of affairs out of his father's hands. The journey to Madrid had revealed to those around him the strange mixture of obstinacy and weakness in the Prince's character, the duplicity which lavished promises because it never purposed to be bound by any, the petty pride that subordinated every political consideration to personal vanity or personal pique. He had granted demand after demand, till the very Spaniards lost faith in his concessions. With rage in his heart at the failure of his efforts, he had renewed his betrothal on the very eve of his departure, only that he might insult the Infanta by its withdrawal when he was safe at home. But to England at large the baser features of his character were still unknown. The stately reserve, the personal dignity and decency of manners which distinguished the Prince, contrasted favourably with the gabble and indecorum of his father. The courtiers indeed who saw him in his youth, would

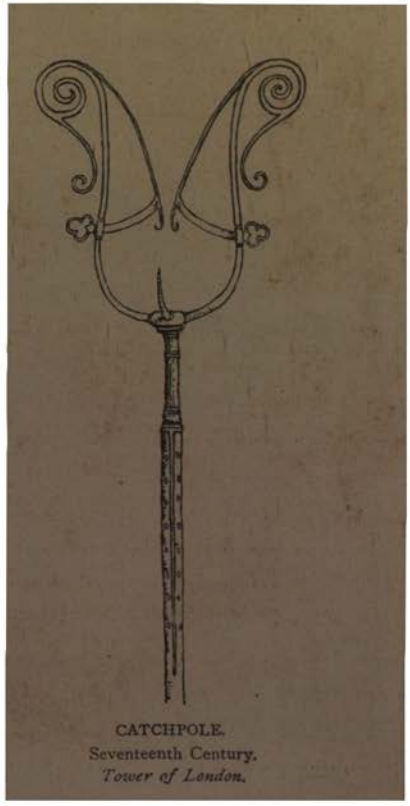
THE COUNCIL OF WAR, 1623—1624.

Broadside in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

HALBERT.
Seventeenth Century.
Tower of London.

often pray God that "he might be in the right way when he was set; for if he was in the wrong he would prove the most wilful of any king that ever reigned." But the nation was willing to take his obstinacy for firmness; as it took the pique which inspired his course on his return for patriotism and for the promise of a nobler rule. Under the pressure of Charles and Buckingham the King was forced to call a Parliament, and to concede the point on which he had broken with the last, by laying before it the whole question of the Spanish negotiations. Buckingham and the Prince gave their personal support to Parliament in its demand for a rupture of the treaties with Spain and a declaration of war. A subsidy was eagerly voted; the persecution of the Catholics, which had long been suspended out of deference to Spanish intervention, began with new vigour. The head of the Spanish party, Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer, was impeached on a charge of corruption, and dismissed from office. James was swept along helplessly by the tide; but his shrewdness saw clearly the turn that affairs were taking; and it was only by hard pressure that the favourite succeeded in wresting his consent to the disgrace of Middlesex. "You are making a rod for your own back," said the King. But Buckingham and Charles persisted in their plans of war. A treaty of alliance was concluded with Holland; negotiations were begun

Breach with Spain
1624



CATCHPOLE.
Seventeenth Century.
Tower of London.

CHARLES I. OPENING PARLIAMENT, 1625; THE COMMONS PRESENTING THEIR SPEAKER TO THE KING.

Contemporary Print in the British Museum.

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with the Lutheran Princes of North Germany, who had looked coolly on at the ruin of the Elector Palatine; an alliance with France was proposed, and the marriage of Charles with Henrietta, a daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, and sister of its King. To restore the triple league was to restore the system of Elizabeth; but the first whispers of a Catholic Queen woke opposition in the Commons. At this juncture the death of the King placed Charles upon the throne; and his first Parliament met in May, 1625. "We can hope everything from the King who now governs us," cried Sir Benjamin Rudyerd in the Commons. But there were cooler heads in the Commons than Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's; and enough had taken place in the few months since its last session to temper its loyalty with caution.

1625

Death of James

The war with Spain, it must be remembered, meant to the mass of Englishmen a war with Catholicism; and the fervour against Catholicism without roused a corresponding fervour against Catholicism within the realm. Every English Catholic seemed to Protestant eyes an enemy at home. A Protestant who leant towards Catholic usage or dogma was a secret traitor in the ranks. But it was suspected, and suspicion was soon to be changed into certainty, that in spite of his pledge to make no religious concessions to France, Charles had on his marriage promised to relax the penal laws against Catholics, and that a foreign power had again been given the right of intermeddling in the civil affairs of the realm. And it was to men with Catholic leanings that Charles seemed disposed to show favour. Bishop Laud was recognized as the centre of that varied opposition to Puritanism, whose members were loosely grouped under the name of Arminians; and Laud now became the King's adviser in ecclesiastical matters. With Laud at its head the new party grew in boldness as well as numbers. It naturally sought for shelter for its religious opinions by exalting the power of the Crown. A court favourite, Montague, ventured to slight the Reformed Churches of the Continent in favour of the Church of Rome, and to advocate as the faith of the Church the very doctrines rejected by the Calvinists. The temper of the Commons on religious matters was clear to every observer. "Whatever mention does

The Policy of Charles

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break forth of the fears or dangers in religion, and the increase of Popery," wrote a member who was noting the proceedings of the House, "their affections are much stirred." Their first act was to summon Montague to the bar and to commit him to prison. But there were other grounds for their distrust besides the King's ecclesiastical tendency. The conditions on which the last subsidy had been granted for war with Spain had been contemptuously set aside; in his request for a fresh grant Charles neither named a sum nor gave any indication of what war it was to support. His reserve was met by a corresponding caution. While voting a small and inadequate subsidy, the Commons restricted their grant of certain customs duties called tonnage and poundage, which had commonly been granted to the new sovereign for life, to a single year, so as to give time for consideration of the additional impositions laid by James on these duties. The restriction was taken as an insult; Charles refused to accept the grant on such a condition, and adjourned the Houses. When they met again at Oxford it was in a sterner temper, for Charles had shown his defiance of Parliament by drawing Montague from prison, by promoting him to a royal chaplaincy, and by levying the disputed customs without authority of law. "England," cried Sir Robert Phelips, "is the last monarchy that yet retains her liberties. Let them not perish now!" But the Commons had no sooner announced their resolve to consider public grievances before entering on other business than they were met by a dissolution.

Aug. 1625

Buckingham's designs

Buckingham, to whom the firmness of the Commons seemed simply the natural discontent which follows on ill success, resolved to lure them from their constitutional struggle by a great military triumph. His hands were no sooner free than he sailed for the Hague to conclude a general alliance against the House of Austria, while a fleet of ninety vessels and ten thousand soldiers left Plymouth in October for the coast of Spain. But these vast projects broke down before Buckingham's administrative incapacity. The plan of alliance proved fruitless. After an idle descent on Cadiz the Spanish expedition returned broken with mutiny and disease; and the enormous debt which had been incurred in its equipment forced the favourite to advise a new summons of the Houses. But he was keenly alive to the peril in

which his failure had plunged him, and to a coalition which had been formed between his rivals at Court and the leaders of the last Parliament. His reckless daring led him to anticipate the danger, and by a series of blows to strike terror into his opponents. The Councillors were humbled by the committal of Lord Arundel to the Tower. Sir Robert Phelips, Coke, and four other leading patriots were made sheriffs of their counties, and thus prevented from sitting in the coming Parliament. But their exclusion only left the field free for a more terrible foe.

Eliot

If Hampden and Pym are the great figures which embody the later national resistance, the earlier struggle for Parliamentary

ST. GERMANS CHURCH AND PORT ELIOT.

liberty centres in the figure of Sir John Eliot. Of an old family which had settled under Elizabeth near the fishing hamlet of St. Germans, and raised their stately mansion of Port Eliot, he had risen to the post of Vice-Admiral of Devonshire under the patronage of Buckingham, and had seen his activity in the suppression of piracy in the Channel rewarded by an unjust imprisonment. He was now in the first vigour of manhood,

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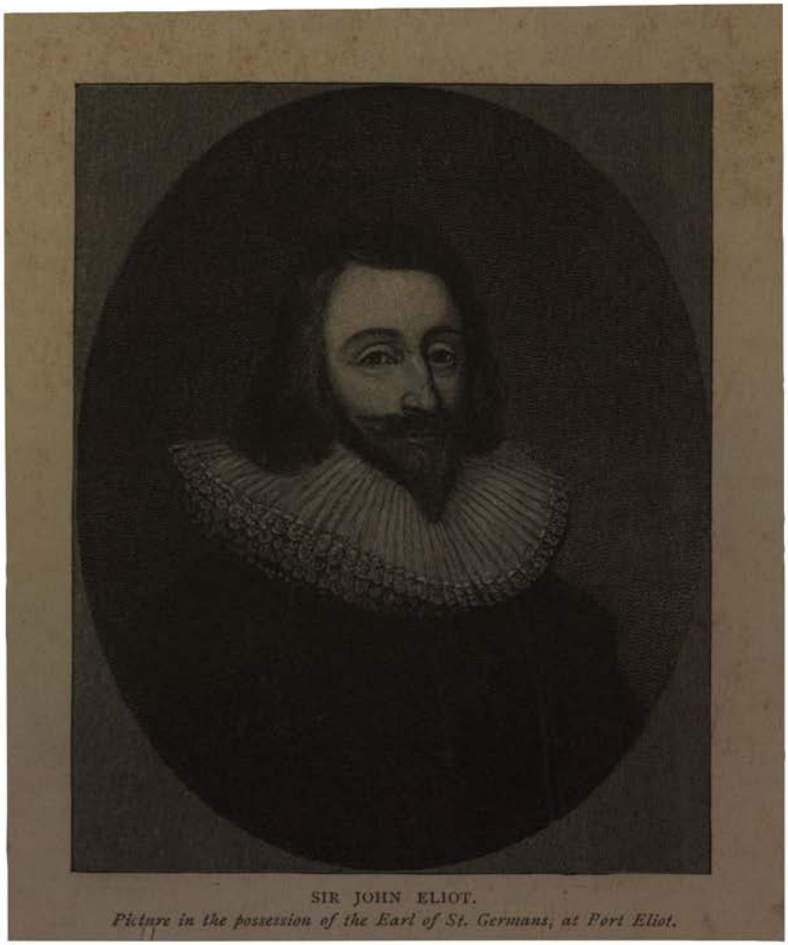
with a mind exquisitely cultivated and familiar with the poetry and learning of his day, a nature singularly lofty and devout, a fearless and vehement temper. There was a hot impulsive element in his nature which showed itself in youth in his drawing sword on a



SIR JOHN ELIOT.
Picture in the possession of the Earl of St. Germans, at Port Eliot.

neighbour who denounced him to his father, and which in later years gave its characteristic fire to his eloquence. But his intellect was as clear and cool as his temper was ardent. In the general enthusiasm which followed on the failure of the Spanish marriage, he had stood almost alone in pressing for a recognition of the

rights of Parliament, as a preliminary to any real reconciliation with the Crown. He fixed, from the very outset of his career, on the responsibility of the royal ministers to Parliament, as the one critical point for English liberty. It was to enforce the demand of this that he availed himself of Buckingham's sacrifice of the Treasurer, Middlesex, to the resentment of the Commons. "The greater the delinquent," he urged, "the greater the delict. They are a happy thing, great men and officers, if they be good, and one of the greatest blessings of the land: but power converted into evil is the greatest curse that can befall it." But the new Parliament had hardly met, when he came to the front to threaten a greater criminal than Middlesex. So menacing were his words, as he called for an inquiry into the failure before Cadiz, that Charles himself stooped to answer threat with threat. "I see," he wrote to the House, "you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. I must let you know that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place and near to me." A more direct attack on a right already acknowledged in the impeachment of Bacon and Middlesex could hardly be imagined, but Eliot refused to move from his constitutional ground. The King was by law irresponsible, he "could do no wrong." If the country therefore was to be saved from a pure despotism, it must be by enforcing the responsibility of the ministers who counselled and executed his acts. Eliot persisted in denouncing Buckingham's incompetence and corruption, and the Commons ordered the subsidy which the Crown had demanded to be brought in "when we shall have presented our grievances, and received his Majesty's answer thereto." Charles summoned them to Whitehall, and commanded them to cancel the condition. He would grant them "liberty of counsel, but not of control;" and he closed the interview with a significant threat. "Remember," he said, "that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution: and, therefore, as I find the fruits of them to be good or evil, they are to continue or not to be." But the will of the Commons was as resolute as the will of the King. Buckingham's impeachment was voted and carried to the Lords. The favourite took his seat as a peer to listen to the charge with so insolent an air of contempt that one of the

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1624

Impeachment of Buckingham

1626

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.
From an Engraving by W. J. Delff, after a Portrait by Mierevelt.

managers appointed by the Commons to conduct it turned sharply on him. "Do you jeer, my Lord!" said Sir Dudley Digges. "I can show you when a greater man than your Lordship—as high as you in place and power, and as deep in the King's favour—has been hanged for as small a crime as these articles contain." The "proud carriage" of the Duke provoked an invective from Eliot which marks a new era in Parliamentary speech. From the first the vehemence and passion of his words had contrasted with the grave, colourless reasoning of older speakers. His opponents complained that Eliot aimed to "stir up affections." The quick emphatic sentences he substituted for the cumbrous periods of the day, his rapid argument, his vivacious and caustic allusions, his passionate appeals, his fearless invective, struck a new note in English eloquence. The frivolous ostentation of Buckingham, his very figure blazing with jewels and gold, gave point to the fierce attack. "He has broken those nerves and sinews of our land, the stores and treasures of the King. There needs no search for it. It is too visible. His profuse expenses, his superfluous feasts, his magnificent buildings, his riots, his excesses, what are they but the visible evidences of an express exhausting of the State, a chronicle of the immensity of his waste of the revenues of the Crown?" With the same terrible directness Eliot reviewed the Duke's greed and corruption, his insatiate ambition, his seizure of all public authority, his neglect of every public duty, his abuse for selfish ends of the powers he had accumulated. "The pleasure of his Majesty, his known directions, his public acts, his acts of council, the decrees of courts—all must be made inferior to this man's will. No right, no interest may withstand him. Through the power of state and justice he has dared ever to strike at his own ends." "My Lords," he ended, after a vivid parallel between Buckingham and Sejanus, "you see the man! What have been his actions, what he is like, you know! I leave him to your judgment. This only is conceived by us, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, that by him came all our evils, in him we find the causes, and on him must be the remedies! Pereat qui perdere cuncta festinat. Opprimatur ne omnes opprimat!"

The King and the People

The reply of Charles was as fierce and sudden as the attack of Eliot. He hurried to the House of Peers to avow as his own the

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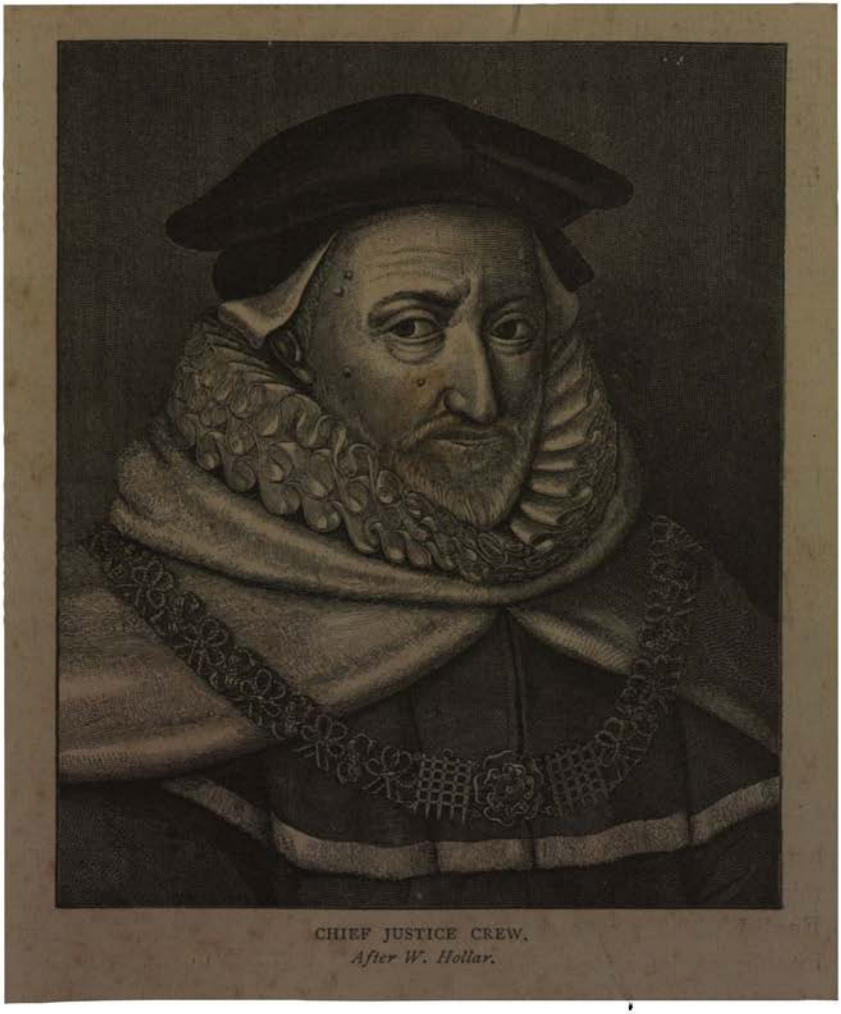
deeds with which Buckingham was charged. Eliot and Digges were called from their seats, and committed prisoners to the Tower. The Commons, however, refused to proceed with public business till their members were restored; and after a ten-days' struggle Eliot was released. But his release was only a prelude to the close of the Parliament. "Not one moment," the King replied to the prayer of his Council for delay; and a final remonstrance in which the Commons begged him to dismiss Buckingham from his service for ever was met by their instant dissolution. The remonstrance was burnt by royal order; Eliot was deprived of his Vice-Admiralty; and an appeal was made to the nation to pay as a free gift the subsidies which the Parliament had refused to grant till their grievances were redressed. But the tide of public resistance was slowly rising. Refusals to give anything, "save by way of Parliament," came in from county after county. When the subsidy-men of Middlesex and Westminster were urged to comply, they answered with a tumultuous shout of "a Parliament! a Parliament! else no subsidies!" Kent stood out to a man. In Bucks the very justices neglected to ask for the "free gift." The freeholders of Cornwall only answered that, "if they had but two kine, they would sell one of them for supply to his Majesty—in a Parliamentary way." The failure of the voluntary gift forced Charles to an open defiance of the law. He met it by the levy of a forced loan. Commissioners were named to assess the amount which every landowner was bound to lend, and to examine on oath all who refused. Every means of persuasion, as of force, was resorted to. The pulpits of the Laudian clergy resounded with the cry of "passive obedience." Dr. Mainwaring preached before Charles himself, that the King needed no Parliamentary warrant for taxation, and that to resist his will was to incur eternal damnation. Poor men who refused to lend were pressed into the army or navy. Stubborn tradesmen were flung into prison. Buckingham himself undertook the task of overawing the nobles and the gentry. Charles met the opposition of the judges by instantly dismissing from his office the Chief Justice, Crew. But in the country at large resistance was universal. The northern counties in a mass set the Crown at defiance. The Lincolnshire farmers drove the Commissioners from the town. Shropshire, Devon, and Warwickshire "refused utterly." Eight

June 16, 1626

The Forced Loan 1627

peers, with Lord Essex and Lord Warwick at their head, declined to comply with the exaction as illegal. Two hundred country gentlemen, whose obstinacy had not been subdued by their transfer from prison to prison, were summoned before the Council; and



CHIEF JUSTICE CREW.
After W. Hollar.

Hampden's protest

John Hampden, as yet only a young Buckinghamshire squire, appeared at the board to begin that career of patriotism which has made his name dear to Englishmen. "I could be content to lend," he said, "but fear to draw on myself that curse in Magna Charta, which should be read twice a year against those who infringe it."

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So close an imprisonment in the Gate House rewarded his protest, "that he never afterwards did look like the same man he was before." With gathering discontent as well as bankruptcy before him, nothing could save the Duke but a great military success; and he equipped a force of six thousand men for the maddest and most profligate of all his enterprises. In the great struggle with Catholicism the hopes of every Protestant rested on the union of England with France against the House of Austria. But the blustering and blundering of the favourite had at last succeeded in plunging him into strife with his own allies, and England now suddenly found

MONUMENT OF SIR CHARLES MONTAGUE, 1625, IN BARKING CHURCH, ESSEX.
Gardiner, "Student's History of England."

herself at war with France and Spain together. The French minister, Cardinal Richelieu, anxious as he was to maintain the English alliance, was convinced that the first step to any effective interference of France in a European war must be the restoration of order at home by the complete reduction of the Protestant town of Rochelle which had risen in revolt. In 1625 English aid had been given to the French forces, however reluctantly. But now Buckingham saw his way to win an easy popularity at home by supporting the Huguenots in their resistance. The enthusiasm for their cause was intense; and he resolved to take advantage of this

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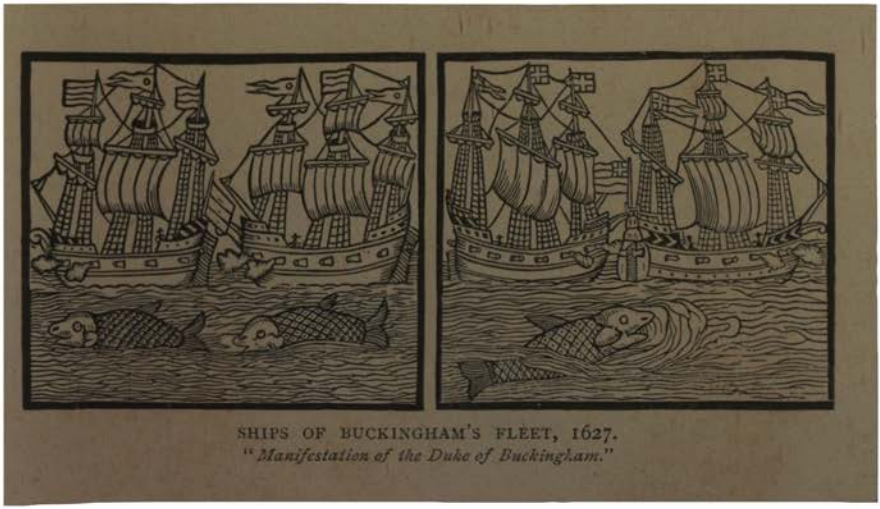
enthusiasm to secure such a triumph for the royal arms as should silence all opposition at home. A fleet of a hundred vessels sailed under his command for the relief of Rochelle. But imposing as was his force, the expedition was as disastrous as it was impolitic. After an unsuccessful siege of the castle of St. Martin, the English troops were forced to fall back along a narrow causeway to their ships; and in the retreat two thousand fell, without the loss of a single man to their enemies.

Siege of Rochelle 1627

The first result of Buckingham's folly was to force on Charles, overwhelmed as he was with debt and shame, the summoning of a new Parliament; a Parliament which met in a mood even more

The Petition of Right



SHIPS OF BUCKINGHAM'S FLEET, 1627.
"*Manifestation of the Duke of Buckingham.*"

resolute than the last. The Court candidates were everywhere rejected. The patriot leaders were triumphantly returned. To have suffered in the recent resistance to arbitrary taxation was the sure road to a seat. In spite of Eliot's counsel, even the question of Buckingham's removal gave place to the craving for redress of wrongs done to personal liberty. "We must vindicate our ancient liberties," said Sir Thomas Wentworth, in words soon to be remembered against himself: "we must reinforce the laws made by our ancestors. We must set such a stamp upon them, as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to invade them." Heedless of sharp and menacing messages from the King, of demands that they should take his "royal word" for their liberties, the House

The Parliament of 1628

FACSIMILE FROM BOOK OF ACCOUNTS OF THE COOPERS' COMPANY, 1576.

Hazlitt, "Livery Companies of London."

bent itself to one great work, the drawing up a Petition of Right. The statutes that protected the subject against arbitrary taxation, against loans and benevolences, against punishment, outlawry, or deprivation of goods, otherwise than by lawful judgment of his peers, against arbitrary imprisonment without stated charge, against billeting of soldiery on the people or enactment of martial law in time of peace, were formally recited. The breaches of them under the last two sovereigns, and above all since the dissolution of the last Parliament, were recited as formally. At the close of this significant list, the Commons prayed "that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament. And that none be called to make answer, or to take such oaths, or to be confined or otherwise molested or disputed concerning the same, or for refusal thereof. And that no freeman may in such manner as is before mentioned be imprisoned or detained. And that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come. And that the commissions for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled, and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed and put to death, contrary to the laws and franchises of the land. All which they humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of the realm. And that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. And that your Majesty would be pleased graciously for the further comfort and safety of your people to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your Majesty and the prosperity of the kingdom." It was in vain that the Lords desired to conciliate Charles by a reservation of his "sovereign power." "Our petition," Pym quietly replied, "is for the laws of England, and this power seems

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.
Temp. Charles I.
"*Discours du bon et loial subject de la Grande Bretagne*," 1648.

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to be another power distinct from the power of the law." The Lords yielded, but Charles gave an evasive reply; and the failure of the more moderate counsels for which his own had been set aside, called Eliot again to the front. In a speech of unprecedented boldness he moved the presentation to the King of a Remonstrance on the state of the realm. But at the moment when he again touched on Buckingham's removal as the preliminary of any real improvement the Speaker of the House interposed. "There was a command laid on him," he said, "to interrupt any that should go about to lay an aspersion on the King's ministers." The breach of their privilege of free speech produced a scene in the Commons such as St. Stephen's had never witnessed before. Eliot sate abruptly down amidst the solemn silence of the House. "Then appeared such a spectacle of passions," says a letter of the time, "as the like had seldom been seen in such an assembly; some weeping, some expostulating, some prophesying of the fatal ruin of our kingdom, some playing the divines in confessing their sins and country's sins which drew these judgments upon us, some finding, as it were, fault with those that wept. There were above an hundred weeping eyes, many who offered to speak being interrupted and silenced by their own passions." Pym himself rose only to sit down choked with tears. At last Sir Edward Coke found words to blame himself for the timid counsels which had checked Eliot at the beginning of the Session, and to protest "that the author and source of all those miseries was the Duke of Buckingham."

The Death of Buckingham

Shouts of assent greeted the resolution to insert the Duke's name in their Remonstrance. But at this moment Charles gave way. To win supplies for a new expedition to Rochelle, Buckingham bent the King to consent to the Petition of Right. As Charles understood it, indeed, the consent meant little. The point for which he really cared was the power of keeping men in prison without bringing them to trial or assigning causes for their imprisonment. On this he had consulted his judges; and they had answered that his consent to the Petition left his rights untouched; like other laws, they said, the Petition would have to be interpreted when it came before them, and the prerogative remained unaffected. As to the rest, while waiving all claims to levy taxes

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not granted by Parliament, Charles still reserved his right to levy impositions paid customarily to the Crown, and amongst these he counted tonnage and poundage. Of these reserves however the Commons knew nothing. The King's consent won a grant of subsidy from the Parliament, and such a ringing of bells and lighting of bonfires from the people "as was never seen but upon his Majesty's return from Spain." But, like all Charles's concessions, it came too late to effect the end at which he aimed. The Commons persisted in presenting their Remonstrance. Charles

A SUPPER-PARTY.
Early Seventeenth Century.
Ballad in Roxburghe Collection (British Museum).

received it coldly and ungraciously; while Buckingham, who had stood defiantly at his master's side as he was denounced, fell on his knees to speak. "No, George!" said the King as he raised him: and his demeanour gave emphatic proof that the Duke's favour remain undiminished. "We will perish together, George," he added at a later time, "if thou dost." No shadow of his doom, in fact, had fallen over the brilliant favourite, when, after the prorogation of the Parliament, he set out to take command of a new expedition for the relief of Rochelle. But a lieutenant in the army, John Felton, soured by neglect and wrongs, had found in

the Remonstrance some fancied sanction for the revenge he plotted; and mixing with the throng which crowded the hall at Portsmouth, he stabbed Buckingham to the heart. Charles flung himself on his bed in a passion of tears when the news reached him; but outside the Court it was welcomed with a burst of joy. Young Oxford bachelors, grave London aldermen, vied with each other in drinking healths to Felton. "God bless thee, little David," cried an old woman, as the murderer passed manacled by; "the Lord comfort thee," shouted the crowd, as the Tower gates closed on him. The very crews of the Duke's armament at Portsmouth shouted to the King, as he witnessed their departure, a prayer that he would "spare John Felton, their sometime fellow soldier." But whatever national hopes the fall of Buckingham had aroused were quickly dispelled. Weston, a creature of the Duke, became Lord Treasurer, and his system remained unchanged. "Though our Achan is cut off," said Eliot, "the accursed thing remains."

1628

The Quarrel of Religion

It seemed as if no act of Charles could widen the breach which his reckless lawlessness had made between himself and his subjects. But there was one thing dearer to England than free speech in Parliament, than security for property, or even personal liberty; and that one thing was, in the phrase of the day, "the Gospel." The gloom which at the outset of this reign we saw settling down on every Puritan heart had deepened with each succeeding year. The great struggle abroad had gone more and more against Protestantism, and at this moment the end of the cause seemed to have come. In Germany Lutheran and Calvinist alike lay at last beneath the heel of the Catholic House of Austria. The fall of Rochelle after Buckingham's death seemed to leave the Huguenots of France at the feet of a Roman Cardinal. While England was thrilling with excitement at the thought that her own hour of deadly peril might come again, as it had come in the year of the Armada, Charles raised Laud to the Bishopric of London, and entrusted him with the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. To the excited Protestantism of the country, Laud and the Churchmen whom he headed seemed a danger really more formidable than the Popery which was making such mighty strides abroad. To the Puritans they were traitors to God and their country at

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The Laudian Clergy

once. Their aim was to draw the Church of England farther away from the Protestant Churches and nearer to the Church which Protestants regarded as Babylon. They aped Roman ceremonies. Cautiously and tentatively they were introducing Roman doctrine. But they had none of the sacerdotal independence which Rome had at any rate preserved. They were abject in their dependence on the Crown. Their gratitude for the royal

"TRIPLE EPISCOPACIE."
Satire of the Puritan Party on Laud and the Court Bishops.

protection which enabled them to defy the religious instincts of the realm showed itself in their erection of the most dangerous pretensions of the monarchy into religious dogmas. Archbishop Whitgift declared James to have been inspired by God. They preached passive obedience to the worst tyranny. They declared the persons and goods of the subject to be at the King's absolute disposal. They were turning religion into a systematic attack on

English liberty. Up to this time they had been little more than a knot of courtly ecclesiastics, for the mass of the clergy, like their flocks, were steady Puritans; but the energy of Laud, and the patronage of the Court, promised a speedy increase of their numbers and their power. Sober men looked forward to a day when every pulpit would be ringing with exhortations to passive obedience, with denunciations of Calvinism and apologies for Rome. Of all the members of the House of Commons Eliot was least fanatical in his natural bent, but the religious crisis swept away for the moment all other thoughts from his mind. "Danger enlarges itself in so great a measure," he wrote from the country, "that nothing but Heaven shrouds us from despair." The House met in the same temper. The first business called up was that of religion. "The Gospel," Eliot burst forth, "is that truth in which this kingdom has been happy through a long and rare prosperity. This ground, therefore, let us lay for a foundation of our building, that that Truth, not with words, but with actions we will maintain!" "There is a ceremony," he went on, "used in the Eastern Churches, of standing at the repetition of the Creed, to testify their purpose to maintain it, not only with their bodies upright but with their swords drawn. Give me leave to call that a custom very commendable!" The Commons answered their leader's challenge by a solemn avowal. They avowed that they held for truth that sense of the Articles as established by Parliament, which by the public act of the Church, and the general current exposition of the writers of their Church, had been delivered unto them. But the debates over religion were suddenly interrupted. The Commons, who had deferred all grant of customs till the wrong done in the illegal levy of them was redressed, had summoned the farmers of those due to the bar; but though they appeared, they pleaded the King's command as a ground for their refusal to answer. The House was proceeding to a protest, when the Speaker signified that he had received an order to adjourn. Dissolution was clearly at hand, and the long-suppressed indignation broke out in a scene of strange disorder. The Speaker was held down in the chair while Eliot, still clinging to his great principle of ministerial responsibility, denounced the New Treasurer as the adviser of the measure. "None have gone

The Avowal

Dissolution of the Parliament 1629

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about to break Parliaments," he added in words to which after events gave a terrible significance, "but in the end Parliaments have broken them." The doors were locked, and in spite of the Speaker's protest, of the repeated knocking of the usher at the door, and of the gathering tumult within the House itself, the loud "Aye, Aye" of the bulk of the members supported Eliot in his last vindication of English liberty. By successive resolutions the Commons declared whomsoever should bring in innovations in religion, or whatever minister endorsed the levy of subsidies not granted in Parliament, "a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth," and every subject voluntarily complying with illegal acts and demands, "a betrayer of the liberty of England and an enemy of the same."

HAYMAKING.
Early Seventeenth Century.
Roxburghe Ballad.

Section IV.—New England

[*Authorities.*—The admirable account of American colonization given by Mr. Bancroft ("History of the United States,") may be corrected in some points of detail by Mr. Gardiner's History. For Laud himself, see his remarkable "Diary," and his Correspondence. His work at Lambeth is described in Prynne's scurrilous "Canterbury's Doom."] (Mr. Doyle's book "The English in America" has appeared since this list was drawn up.—ED.)

England and the New World

The dissolution of the Parliament of 1629 marked the darkest hour of Protestantism, whether in England or in the world at large. But it was in this hour of despair that the Puritans won their noblest triumph. They "turned," to use Canning's words in a far truer and grander sense than that which he gave to them, they "turned to the New World to redress the balance of the Old." It was during the years of tyranny which followed the close of the third Parliament of Charles that a great Puritan emigration founded the States of New England.

The Puritans were far from being the earliest among the English colonists of North America. There was little in the circumstances which attended the first discovery of the Western world which promised well for freedom; its earliest result, indeed, was to give an enormous impulse to the most bigoted and tyrannical among the powers of Europe, and to pour the wealth of Mexico and Peru into the treasury of Spain. But while the Spanish galleons traversed the Southern seas, and Spanish settlers claimed the southern part of the great continent for the Catholic crown, a happy instinct drew Englishmen to the ruder and more barren districts along the shore of Northern America. England had reached the mainland even earlier than Spain, for before Columbus touched its shores Sebastian Cabot, a seaman of Genoese blood born and bred in England, sailed with an English crew from Bristol in 1497, and pushed along the coast of America to the

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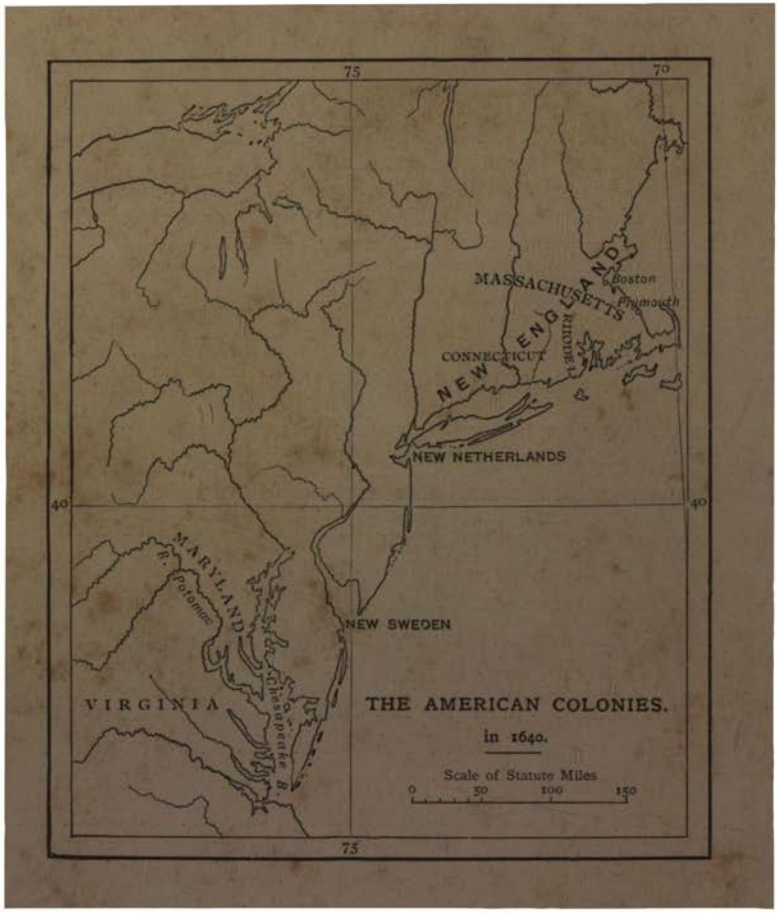
south as far as Florida, and northward as high as Hudson's Bay. But no Englishman followed on the track of this bold adventurer; and while Spain built up her empire in the New World, the English seamen reaped a humbler harvest in the fisheries of Newfoundland. It was not till the reign of Elizabeth that the thoughts of



Englishmen turned again to the New World. The dream of
1576 finding a passage to Asia by a voyage round the northern coast of the American continent drew a west-country seaman, Martin Frobisher, to the coast of Labrador, and the news which he brought back of the existence of gold mines there set adventurers cruising among the icebergs of Baffin's Bay. Luckily the quest of

gold proved a vain one; and the nobler spirits among those who had engaged in it turned to plans of colonization. But the country, vexed by long winters and thinly peopled by warlike tribes of Indians, gave a rough welcome to the earlier colonists. After a 1584

SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT
Engraving by C. Van de Pas, in Holland's "Heroologia."

fruitless attempt to form a settlement, Sir Humphry Gilbert, one of the noblest spirits of his time, turned homewards again, to find his fate in the stormy seas. "We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land," were the famous words he was heard to utter, ere the light of his little bark was lost for ever in the darkness of the night. An

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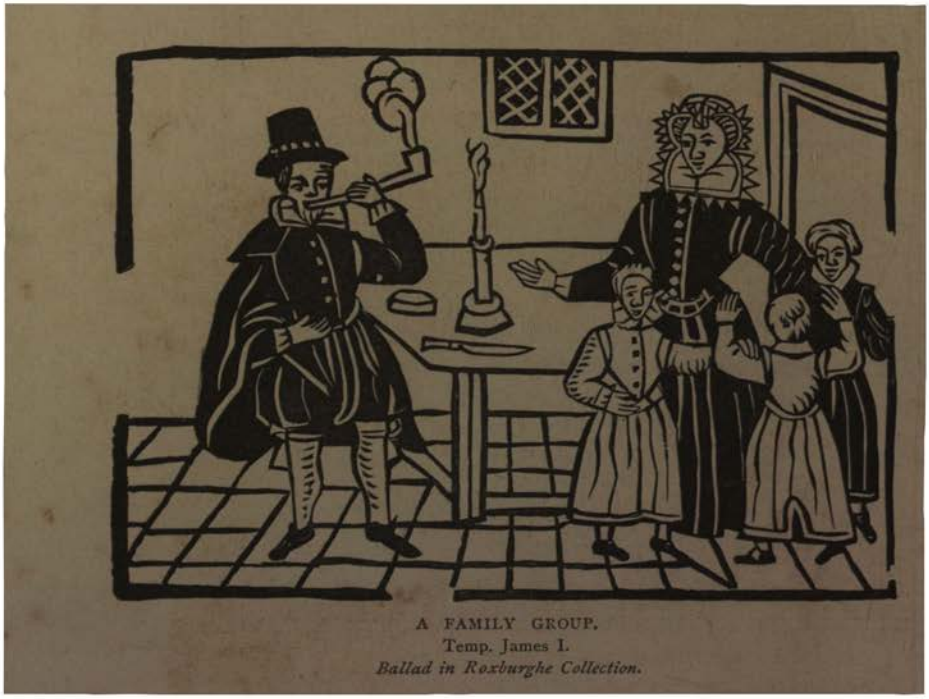
expedition sent by his half-brother, Sir Walter Ralegh, explored Pamlico Sound; and the country they discovered, a country where, in their poetic fancy, "men lived after the manner of the Golden Age," received from Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen, the name of Virginia. The introduction of tobacco and of the potato into Europe dates from Ralegh's discovery; but the energy of his settlers was distracted by the delusive dream of gold, the hostility of the native tribes drove them from the coast, and it is through the gratitude of later times for what he strove to do, rather than



A FAMILY GROUP.
Temp. James I.
Ballad in Roxburghe Collection.

for what he did, that Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, pre-

1606 serves his name. The first permanent settlement on the Chesapeake was effected in the beginning of the reign of James the First, and its success was due to the conviction of the settlers that the secret of the New World's conquest lay simply in labour. Among the hundred and five colonists who originally landed, forty-eight were gentlemen, and only twelve were tillers of the soil. Their leader, John Smith, however, not only explored the vast bay of Chesapeake and discovered the Potomac and the Susquehannah,

ADMIRALL OF NEW ENGLAND. THE PORTRAICTUER OF CAPTAYNE IOHN SMITH
Ætatis 37
Anno 1616
These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Ouerthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civillized by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn:
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.
If so; in Brasse, two soft Smiths Acts to beare)
I fix thy Fame, to make Brasse Steele out weare.
Thine, as thou art Virtues,
John Davies. Heref:
N
nor
Snadoun
Hull
Bestou
South Hampton
D Wymthorp

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

From the Map of New England in his "Generall Historie of Virginia," 1624.

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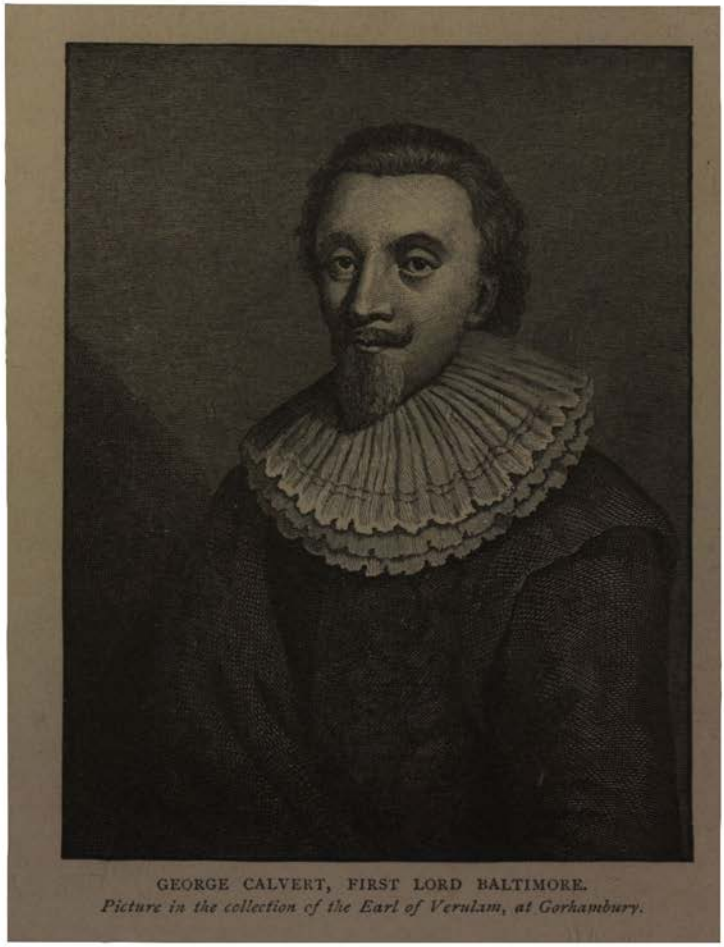
but held the little company together in the face of famine and desertion till the colonists had learnt the lesson of toil. In his letters to the colonizers at home he set resolutely aside the dream of gold. "Nothing is to be expected thence," he wrote of the new country, "but by labour;" and supplies of labourers, aided by



GEORGE CALVERT, FIRST LORD BALTIMORE.
Picture in the collection of the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

a wise allotment of lands to each colonist, secured after five years of struggle the fortunes of Virginia. "Men fell to building houses and planting corn;" the very streets of Jamestown, as their capital was called from the reigning sovereign, were sown with tobacco; and in fifteen years the colony numbered five thousand souls.

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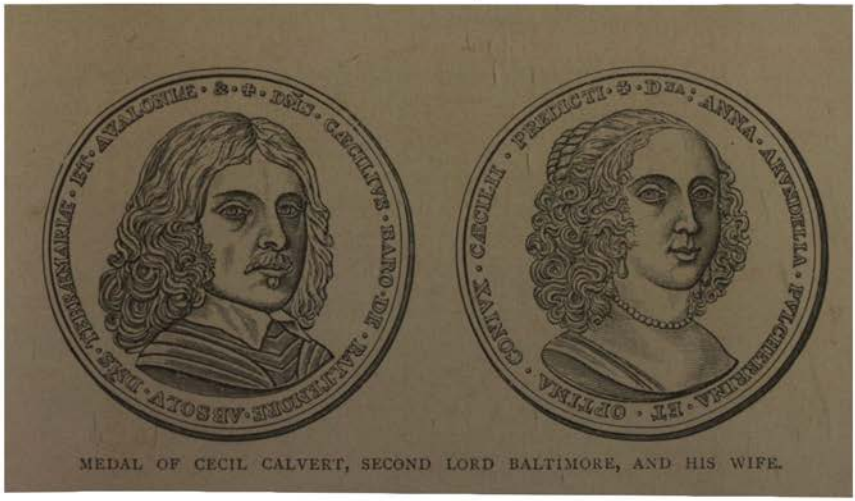
The Pilgrim Fathers

The laws and representative institutions of England were first introduced into the New World in the settlement of Virginia: some years later a principle as unknown to England as it was to the greater part of Europe found its home in another colony, which received its name of Maryland from Henrietta Maria, the Queen of Charles the First. Calvert, Lord Baltimore, one of the best of the Stuart counsellors, was forced by his conversion to Catholicism to seek a shelter for himself and colonists of his new faith in the district across the Potomac, and round the head of the Chesapeake. As a purely Catholic settlement was impossible, he resolved to 1634 open the new colony to men of every faith. "No person within


CECILIVS · BARO · DE · BALTIMORE · AB SOLA · DNUS · DE · AVALONIE · ET · MARIE · MYNES
CAECILII · PRIECTI · ✠ · DEA · ANNA · ARVNDELIA · HENRIETTA · ET · OPTIMA · CONIVX
MEDAL OF CECIL CALVERT, SECOND LORD BALTIMORE, AND HIS WIFE.

this province," ran the earliest law of Maryland, "professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." Long however before Lord Baltimore's settlement in Maryland, only a few years indeed after the settlement of Smith in Virginia, the church of Brownist or Independent refugees, whom we saw driven in the reign of James to Amsterdam, had resolved to quit Holland and find a home in the wilds of the New World. They were little disheartened by the tidings of suffering which came from the Virginian settlement. "We are well weaned," wrote their minister, John Robinson, "from the delicate milk of the mother-country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land;

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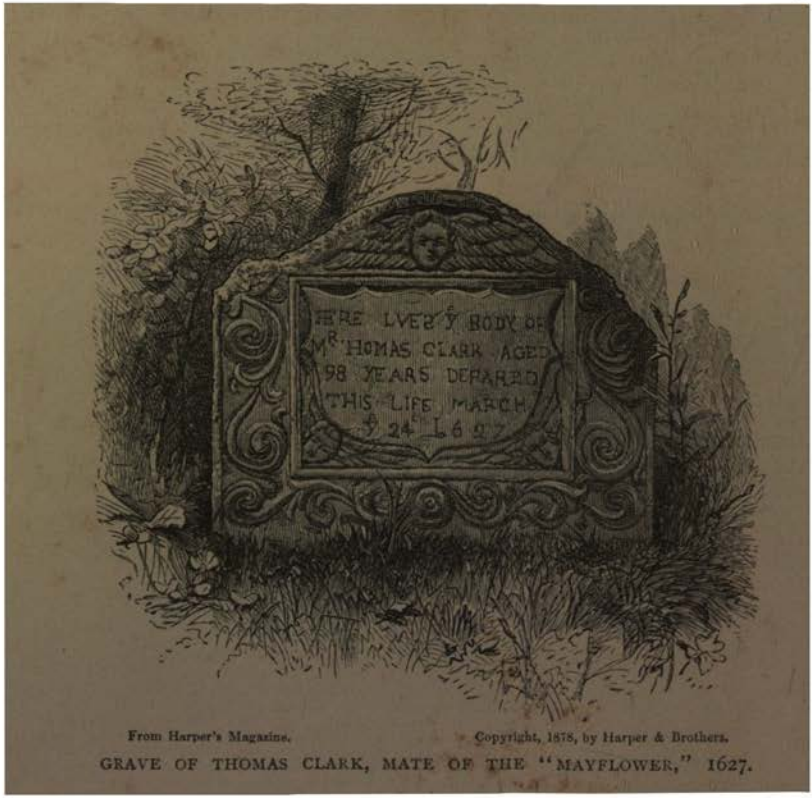
the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves strictly tied to all care of each other's good and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage." Returning from Holland to Southampton, they started in two small vessels for the new land: but one of these soon put



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GRAVE OF THOMAS CLARK, MATE OF THE "MAYFLOWER," 1627.

back, and only its companion, the *Mayflower*, a bark of a hundred and eighty tons, with forty-one emigrants and their families on

1620 board, persisted in prosecuting its voyage. The little company of the "Pilgrim Fathers," as after-times loved to call them, landed on the barren coast of Massachusetts at a spot to which they gave the name of Plymouth, in memory of the last English port at which they touched. They had soon to face the long hard winter of the north, to bear sickness and famine: even when these years of toil

and suffering had passed there was a time when "they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning." Resolute and industrious as they were, their progress was very slow; and at the end of ten years they numbered only three hundred souls. But small as it was, the colony was now firmly established and the struggle for mere existence was over. "Let it not be grievous unto you," some of their brethren had written from England to the poor emigrants in the midst of their sufferings, "that you have

ALLYN HOUSE, NEW PLYMOUTH.
Built by one of the Pilgrim Fathers; demolished 1826.
Tudor, "Life of Otis," 1823.

been instrumental to break the ice for others. The honours shall be yours to the world's end."

The Puritan Emigration

From the moment of their establishment the eyes of the English Puritans were fixed on the little Puritan settlement in North America. Through the early years of Charles projects were canvassed for a new settlement beside the little Plymouth; and the aid which the merchants of Boston in Lincolnshire gave to the realization of this project was acknowledged in the name of its capital. At the moment when he was dissolving his third Parliament, Charles granted the charter which established the colony of Massachusetts; and by the Puritans at large the grant was at once

1629

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regarded as a Providential call. Out of the failure of their great constitutional struggle, and the pressing danger to "godliness" in England, rose the dream of a land in the West where religion and liberty could find a safe and lasting home. The Parliament was hardly dissolved, when "conclusions" for the establishment of a great colony on the other side the Atlantic were circulating among gentry and traders, and descriptions of the new country of Massachusetts were talked over in every Puritan household. The proposal was welcomed with the quiet, stern enthusiasm which

AN ENGLISH CITIZEN RIDING WITH HIS WIFE.
Album of Tobias Oelhafen of Nuremberg, 1623—1625.
M.S. Eg. 1269.

marked the temper of the time; but the words of a well-known emigrant show how hard it was even for the sternest enthusiasts to tear themselves from their native land. "I shall call that my country," said the younger Winthrop, in answer to feelings of this sort, "where I may most glorify God and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends." The answer was accepted, and the Puritan emigration began on a scale such as England had never before seen. The two hundred who first sailed for Salem were soon followed by John Winthrop with eight hundred men; and seven
1630 hundred more followed ere the first year of the king's personal rule

had run its course. Nor were the emigrants, like the earlier colonists of the South, "broken men," adventurers, bankrupts, criminals; or simply poor men and artisans, like the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower*. They were in great part men of the professional and middle classes; some of them men of large landed estate, some zealous clergymen like Cotton, Hooker, and Roger Williams, some shrewd London lawyers, or young scholars from Oxford. The bulk were God-fearing farmers from Lincolnshire

RURAL SCENE.
Middle Seventeenth Century.
Ballad in Roxburghe Collection.

and the Eastern counties. They desired in fact "only the best" as sharers in their enterprise; men driven forth from their fatherland not by earthly want, or by the greed of gold, or by the lust of adventure, but by the fear of God, and the zeal for a godly worship. But strong as was their zeal, it was not without a wrench that they tore themselves from their English homes. "Farewell, dear England!" was the cry which burst from the first little company of emigrants as its shores faded from their sight. "Our hearts," wrote Winthrop's followers to the brethren whom they had left

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Laud and the Puritans

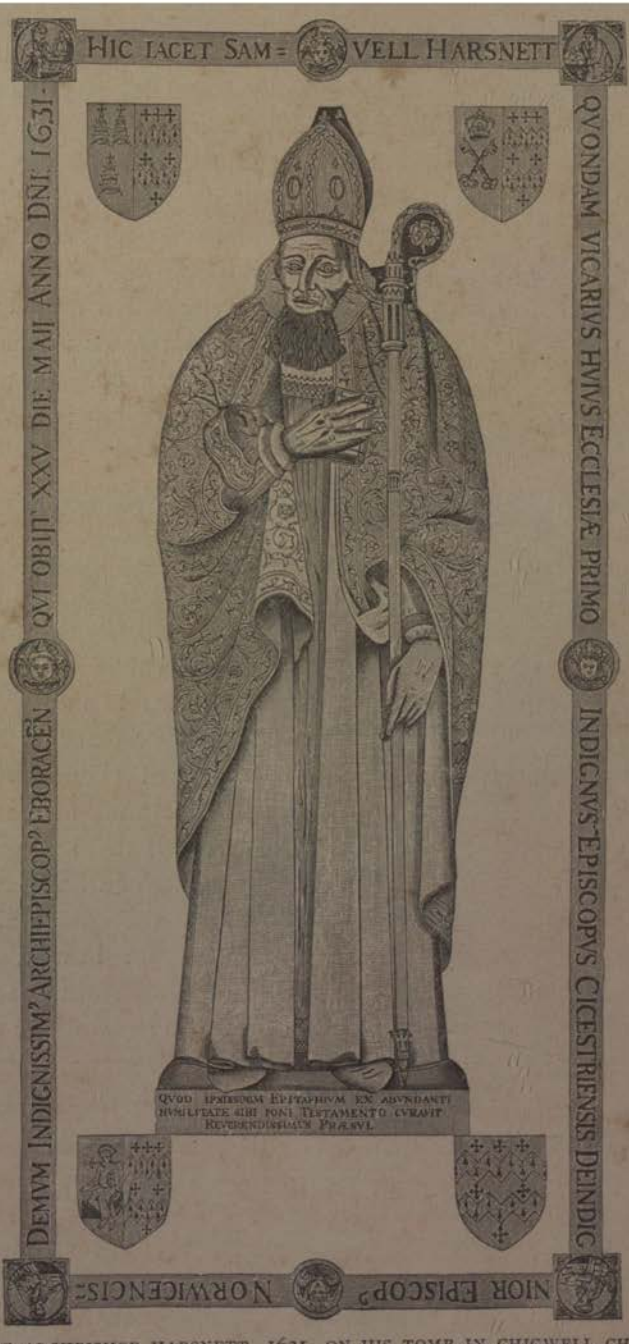
behind, "shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness."

During the next two years, as the sudden terror which had found so violent an outlet in Eliot's warnings died for the moment away, there was a lull in the emigration. But the measures of

WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
Picture by Vandyck.

Laud soon revived the panic of the Puritans. The shrewdness of James had read the very heart of the man when Buckingham pressed for his first advancement to the see of St. David's. "He hath a restless spirit," said the old King, "which cannot see when things are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring matters

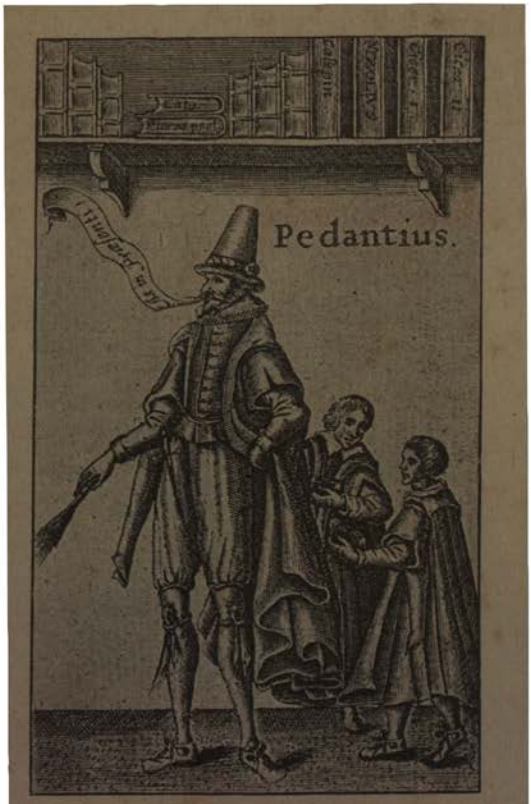
to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain. Take him with you, but by my soul you will repent it." Cold, pedantic, superstitious as he was (he notes in his diary the entry of a robin-redbreast into his study as a matter of grave moment), William Laud rose out of the mass of court-prelates by his industry, his personal unselfishness, his remarkable capacity for administration. At a later period, when immersed in State-business, he found time to acquire so complete a knowledge of commercial affairs that the London merchants themselves owned him a master in matters of trade. Of statesmanship indeed he had none. But Laud's influence was really derived from the unity of his purpose. He directed all the power of a clear, narrow mind and a dogged will to the realization of a single aim. His resolve was to raise the Church of England to what he conceived to be its real position as a branch, though a reformed branch, of the great Catholic Church throughout the world; protesting alike against the innovations of Rome and the innovations of Calvin, and basing its doctrines and usages on those of the Christian communion in the centuries which preceded the Council of Nicæa. The first step in the realization of such a theory was the severance of whatever ties had hitherto united the English Church to the Reformed Churches of the Continent. In Laud's view episcopal succession was of the essence of a Church, and by their rejection of bishops, the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches of Germany and Switzerland had ceased to be Churches at all. The freedom of worship therefore which had been allowed to the Huguenot refugees from France, or the Walloons from Flanders, was suddenly withdrawn; and the requirement of conformity with the Anglican ritual drove them in crowds from the southern ports to seek toleration in Holland. The same conformity was required from the English soldiers and merchants abroad, who had hitherto attended without scruple the services of the Calvinistic churches. The English ambassador in Paris was forbidden to visit the Huguenot conventicle at Charenton. As Laud drew further from the Protestants of the Continent, he drew, consciously or unconsciously, nearer to Rome. His theory owned Rome as a true branch of the Church, though severed from that of England by errors and innovations against which Laud vigorously protested. But with the removal of these obstacles


HIC IACET SAM= VELL HARSNETT
QVONDAM VICARIVS HVIVS ECCLESIÆ PRIMO
INDIGNVS EPISCOPVS CICESTRIENSIS DEINDIC
NIOR EPISCOP⁹ NORWICENSIS=
DEMVM INDIGNISSIM⁹ ARCHIEPISCOP⁹ EBORACEN
QVI OBIIT XXV DIE MAII ANNO DNI 1631
QVOD IPSISSIMVM EPITAPHIVM EX ABVNDANTI
HVMILITATE SIBI PONI TESTAMENTO CVRAVIT
REVERENDISSIMVS PRÆSVL

BRASS OF ARCHBISHOP HARSNETT, 1631, ON HIS TOMB IN CHIGWELL CHURCH, ESSEX.

The latest representation of an English prelate in the old episcopal vestments.
Catalogue of Harsnett Library.

reunion would naturally follow, and his dream was that of bridging over the gulf which ever since the Reformation had parted the two Churches. The secret offer of a cardinal's hat proved Rome's sense that Laud was doing his work for her; while his rejection of it, and his own reiterated protestations, prove equally that he was doing it unconsciously. Union with the great body of Catholicism, indeed, he regarded as a work which only time could bring about, but for which he could prepare the Church of England by raising it to a higher standard of Catholic feeling and Catholic practice. The great obstacle in his way was the Puritanism of nine-tenths of the English people, and on Puritanism he made war without mercy. No sooner had his elevation to the see of Canterbury placed him at the head of the English Church, than he turned the High Commission into a standing attack on the Puritan ministers. Rectors and vicars were scolded, suspended, deprived for "Gospel preaching." The use of the surplice, and the ceremonies most offensive to Puritan feeling, were enforced in every parish. The lectures founded in towns, which were the favourite posts of Puritan preachers, were rigorously suppressed. They found a refuge among the country gentlemen, and the Archbishop withdrew from the country gentlemen the privilege of keeping chaplains, which they had till then enjoyed. As parishes became



DR. THOMAS BEARD.
Schoolmaster and Lecturer at a Puritan Church in Huntingdon.
Frontispiece to his "Pedantius," 1631.

Laud as Archbishop 1633

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vacant the High Church bishops had long been filling them with men who denounced Calvinism, and declared passive obedience to the sovereign to be part of the law of God. The Puritans soon felt the stress of this process, and endeavoured to meet it by buying up the appropriations of livings, and securing through feoffees a succession of Protestant ministers in the parishes of which they were patrons; but Laud cited the feoffees before the Court of Exchequer, and roughly put an end to them. Nor was the

MINSTRELS OUTSIDE TAVERN.
Early Seventeenth Century.
Roxburghe Ballad.

persecution confined to the clergy. Under the two last reigns the small pocket-Bibles called the Geneva Bibles had become universally popular amongst English laymen; but their marginal notes were found to savour of Calvinism, and their importation was prohibited. The habit of receiving the communion in a sitting posture had become common, but kneeling was now enforced, and hundreds were excommunicated for refusing to comply with the injunction. A more galling means of annoyance was found in the different views of the two religious parties on the subject of

Sunday. The Puritans identified the Lord's day with the Jewish Sabbath, and transferred to the one the strict observances which were required for the other. The Laudian clergy, on the other hand, regarded it simply as one among the holidays of the Church, and encouraged their flocks in the pastimes and recreations after service which had been common before the Reformation. The Crown under James had taken part with the High Churchmen, and had issued a "Book of Sports" which recommended certain games

"THE LAMENTABLE COMPLAINT OF NICK FROTH AND RULEROST" AGAINST THE PURITAN OBSERVANCE OF SUNDAY.
Tract, 1641.

as lawful and desirable on the Lord's day. The Parliament, as might be expected, was stoutly on the other side, and had forbidden Sunday pastimes by statute. The general religious sense of the country was undoubtedly tending to a stricter observance of the day, when Laud brought the contest to a sudden issue. He summoned the Chief-Justice, Richardson, who had enforced the statute in the western shires, to the Council-table, and rated him so violently that the old man came out complaining he had been all but choked by a pair of lawn sleeves. He then ordered every

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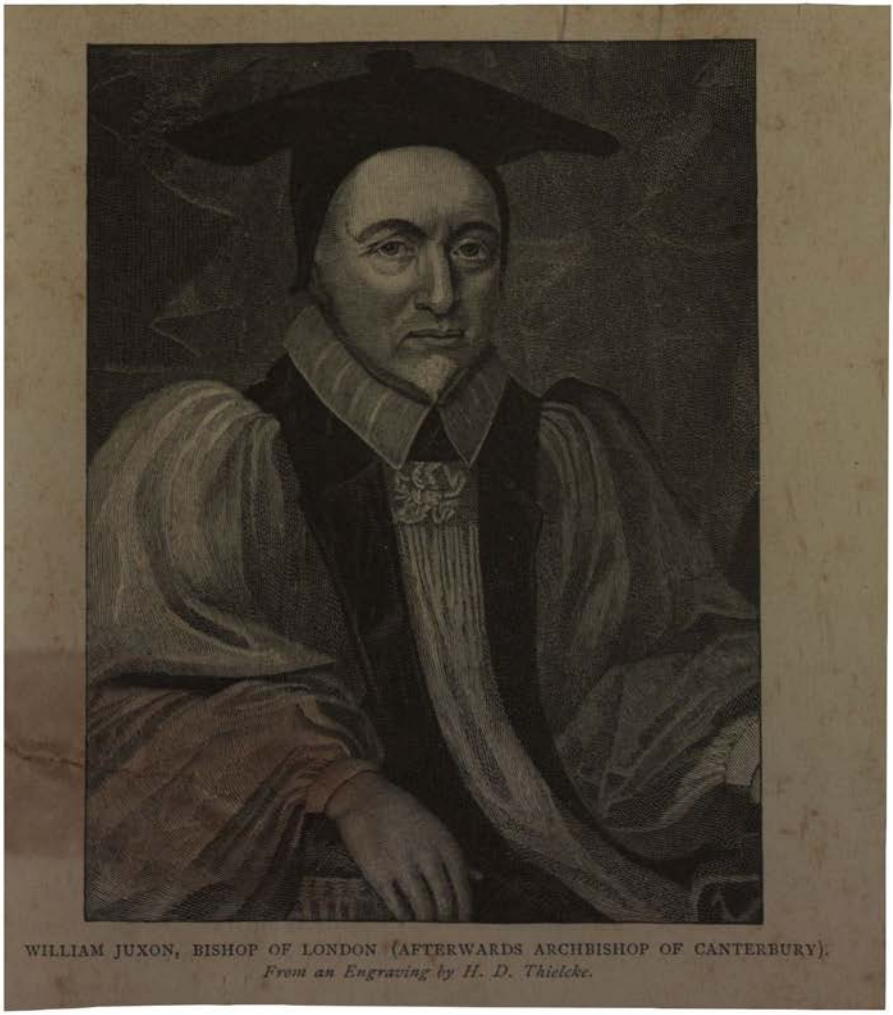
minister to read the declaration in favour of Sunday pastimes from the pulpit. One Puritan minister had the wit to obey, and to close the reading with the significant hint, "You have heard read, good people, both the commandment of God and the commandment of man. Obey which you please." But the bulk refused to comply with the Archbishop's will. The result followed at which Laud no doubt had aimed. Puritan ministers were cited before the High Commission, and silenced or deprived. In the diocese of Norwich alone thirty parochial ministers were expelled from their cures.

Laud and the Clergy

The suppression of Puritanism in the ranks of the clergy was only a preliminary to the real work on which the Archbishop's mind was set, the preparation for Catholic reunion by the elevation of the clergy to a Catholic standard in doctrine and ritual. Laud publicly avowed his preference of an unmarried to a married priesthood. Some of the bishops, and a large part of the new clergy who occupied the posts from which the Puritan ministers had been driven, advocated doctrines and customs which the Reformers had denounced as sheer Papistry; the practice, for instance, of auricular confession, a Real Presence in the Sacrament, or prayers for the dead. One prelate, Montague, was earnest for reconciliation with Rome. Another, Goodman, died acknowledging himself a Papist. Meanwhile Laud was indefatigable in his efforts to raise the civil and political status of the clergy to the point which it had reached ere the fatal blow of the Reformation fell on the priesthood. Among the archives of his see lies a large and costly volume in vellum, containing a copy of such records in the Tower as concerned the privileges of the clergy. Its compilation was entered in the Archbishop's diary as one among the "twenty-one things which I have projected to do if God bless me in them," and as among the fifteen to which before his fall he had been enabled to add his emphatic "done." The power of the Bishops' Courts, which had long fallen into decay, revived under his patronage. In 1636 he was able to induce the King to raise a prelate, Juxon, Bishop of London, to the highest civil post in the realm, that of Lord High Treasurer. "No Churchman had it since Henry the Seventh's time," Laud comments proudly. "I pray God bless him to carry it so that the Church may have honour,

and the State service and content by it. And now, if the Church will not hold up themselves, under God I can do no more." As he aimed at a more Catholic standard of doctrine in the clergy, so he aimed at a nearer approach to the pomp of Catholicism in public



WILLIAM JUXON, BISHOP OF LONDON (AFTERWARDS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY).
From an Engraving by H. D. Thielcke.

worship. His conduct in his own house at Lambeth brings out with singular vividness the reckless courage with which he threw himself across the religious instincts of a time when the spiritual aspect of worship was overpowering in most men's minds its æsthetic and devotional sides. Men noted as a fatal omen the accident

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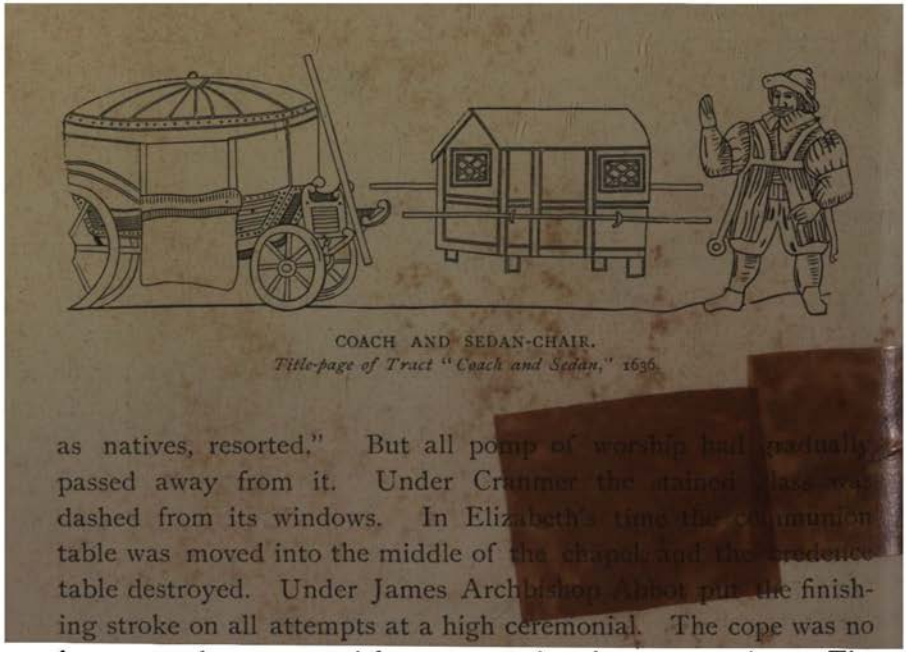
which marked his first entry into Lambeth; for the overladen ferry-boat upset in the passage of the river, and though the horses and servants were saved, the Archbishop's coach remained at the bottom of the Thames. But no omen, carefully as he might note it, brought a moment's hesitation to the bold, narrow mind of the new Primate. His first act, he boasted, was the setting about a restoration of his chapel; and, as Laud managed it, his restoration was the simple undoing of all that had been done there by his predecessors since the Reformation. The chapel of Lambeth House was one of the most conspicuous among the ecclesiastical buildings of the time; it had seen the daily worship of every Primate since Cranmer, and was a place "whither many of the nobility, judges, clergy, and persons of all sorts, as well strangers



COACH AND SEDAN-CHAIR.
Title-page of Tract "Coach and Sedan," 1636.

as natives, resorted." But all pomp of worship had gradually passed away from it. Under Cranmer the stained glass was dashed from its windows. In Elizabeth's time the communion table was moved into the middle of the chapel, and the credence table destroyed. Under James Archbishop Abbot put the finishing stroke on all attempts at a high ceremonial. The cope was no longer used as a special vestment in the communion. The Primate and his chaplains forbore to bow at the name of Christ. The organ and choir were alike abolished, and the service reduced to a simplicity which would have satisfied Calvin. To Laud the state of the chapel seemed intolerable. With characteristic energy he aided with his own hands in the replacement of the painted glass in its windows, and racked his wits in piecing the fragments

CHAPEL, LAMBETH PALACE.
Ceiling put up by Laud; stalls and screen by Juxon.

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together. The glazier was scandalized by the Primate's ex[redacted] command to repair and set up again the "broken crucifix" in the east window. The holy table was removed from the centre, and set altar-wise against the eastern wall, with a cloth of arras behind it, on which was embroidered the history of the Last Supper. The elaborate woodwork of the screen, the rich copes of the chaplain, the silver candlesticks, the credence table, the organ and the choir, the stately ritual, the bowings at the sacred name, the genuflexions to the altar, made the chapel at last such a model of worship as Laud desired. If he could not exact an equal pomp of devotion in other quarters, he exacted as much as he could. Bowing to the altar was introduced into all cathedral churches. A royal injunction ordered the removal of the communion table, which for the last half-century or more had in almost every parish church stood in the middle of the nave, back to its pre-Reformation position in the chancel, and secured it from profanation by a rail. The removal implied, and was understood to imply, a recognition of the Real Presence, and a denial of the doctrine which Englishmen generally held about the Lord's Supper. But, strenuous as was the resistance Laud encountered, his pertinacity and severity warred it down. Parsons who denounced the change from their pulpits were fined, imprisoned, and deprived of their benefices. Churchwardens who refused or delayed to obey the injunction were rated at the Commission-table, and frightened into compliance.

The Puritan Colonies

In their last Remonstrance to the King the Commons had denounced Laud as the chief assailant of the Protestant character of the Church of England; and every year of his Primacy showed him bent upon justifying the accusation. His policy was no longer the purely conservative policy of Parker or Whitgift; it was aggressive and revolutionary. His "new counsels" threw whatever force there was in the feeling of conservatism into the hands of the Puritan, for it was the Puritan who now seemed to be defending the old character of the Church of England against its Primate's attacks. But backed as Laud was by the power of the Crown, the struggle became more hopeless every day. While the Catholics owned that they had never enjoyed a like tranquillity, while the fines for recusancy were reduced, and their worship

suffered to go on in private houses, the Puritan saw his ministers silenced or deprived, his Sabbath profaned, the most sacred act of his worship brought near, as he fancied, to the Roman mass. Roman doctrine met him from the pulpit, Roman practices met him in the Church. We can hardly wonder that with such a world around them "godly people in England began to apprehend a special hand of Providence in raising this plantation" in Massachusetts; "and their hearts were generally stirred to come over." It was in vain that weaker men returned to bring news of hardships and dangers, and told how two hundred of the new comers had perished with their first winter. A letter from Winthrop told how the rest toiled manfully on. "We now enjoy God and Jesus Christ," he wrote to those at home, "and is not that enough? I thank God I like so well to be here as I do not repent my coming. I would not have altered my course though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never had more content of mind." With the strength and manliness of Puritanism, its bigotry and narrowness had crossed the Atlantic too. Roger Williams, a young minister who held the doctrine of freedom of conscience, was driven from the new settlement, to become a preacher among the settlers of Rhode Island. The bitter resentment stirred in the emigrants by persecution at home was seen in their rejection of Episcopacy and their prohibition of the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The intensity of its religious sentiments turned the colony into a theocracy. "To the end that the body of the Commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered and agreed that for the time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the bounds of the same." As the contest grew hotter at home the number of Puritan emigrants rose fast. Three thousand new colonists arrived from England in a single year. The growing stream of emigrants marks the terrible pressure of the time. Between the sailing of Winthrop's expedition and the assembly of the Long Parliament, in the space, that is, of ten or eleven years, two hundred emigrant ships had crossed the Atlantic, and twenty thousand Englishmen had found a refuge in the West.

CHARLES I.
Illumination on a Patent in Public Record Office.

Section V.—The Personal Government, 1629—1640

[*Authorities.*—For the general events of the time, see previous sections. The "Strafford Letters," and the Calendars of Domestic State Papers for this period give its real history. "Baillie's Letters" tell the story of the Scotch rising. Generally, Scotch affairs may be studied in Mr. Burton's "History of Scotland." Portraits of Weston, and most of the statesmen of this period, may be found in the earlier part of Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion."]

The Suspension of Parliament

At the opening of his third Parliament Charles had hinted in ominous words that the continuance of Parliament at all depended on its compliance with his will. "If you do not your duty," said the King, "mine would then order me to use those other means which God has put into my hand." The threat, however, failed to break the resistance of the Commons, and the ominous words passed into a settled policy. "We have showed," said a proclamation which followed on the dissolution of the Houses, "by our frequent meeting our people, our love to the use of Parliament; yet, the late abuse having for the present driven us unwillingly out of that course, we shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time unto us for Parliament." *Mar.* 1629

The policy of Charles

No Parliament in fact met for eleven years. But it would be unfair to charge the King at the outset of this period with any definite scheme of establishing a tyranny, or of changing what he conceived to be the older constitution of the realm. He "hated the very name of Parliaments," but in spite of his hate he had as yet no settled purpose of abolishing them. His belief was that England would in time recover its senses, and that then Parliament might re-assemble without inconvenience to the Crown. In the interval, however long it might be, he proposed to govern single-handed by the use of "those means which God had put into his hands." Resistance, indeed, he was resolved to put down. The

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leaders of the popular party in the last Parliament were thrown into prison; and Eliot died, the first martyr of English liberty, in the Tower. Men were forbidden to speak of the reassembling of a Parliament. But here the King stopped. The opportunity which might have suggested dreams of organized despotism to a Richelieu, suggested only means of filling his Exchequer to Charles. He had in truth neither the grander nor the meaner

IRISH SOLDIERS IN SERVICE OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, 1631.
Contemporary German Broadside in British Museum.

instincts of a born tyrant. He did not seek to gain an absolute power over his people, because he believed that his absolute power was already a part of the constitution of the country. He set up no standing army to secure it, partly because he was poor, but yet more because his faith in his position was such that he never dreamed of any effectual resistance. His expedients for freeing the Crown from that dependence on Parliaments against which his pride as a sovereign revolted were simply peace and economy. To

Peace

secure the first he sacrificed an opportunity greater than ever his father had trodden under foot. The fortunes of the great struggle

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, KING OF SWEDEN.
From an engraving by Delff after a picture by Mierevelt.

in Germany were suddenly reversed at this juncture by the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus, with a Swedish army, in the heart of Germany. Tilly was defeated and slain; the Catholic

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League humbled in the dust; Munich, the capital of its Bavarian leader, occupied by the Swedish army, and the Lutheran princes of North Germany freed from the pressure of the Imperial soldiery; while the Emperor himself, trembling within the walls of Vienna, was driven to call for aid from Wallenstein, an adventurer whose ambition he dreaded, but whose army could alone arrest the progress of the Protestant conqueror. The ruin that James had wrought was suddenly averted; but the victories of Protestantism had no more power to draw Charles out of the petty circle of his politics at home than its defeats had had power to draw James out of the circle of his imbecile diplomacy. When Gustavus, on the point of invading Germany, appealed for aid to England and France, Charles, left penniless by the dissolution of Parliament, resolved on a policy of peace, withdrew his ships from the Baltic,

1630

and opened negotiations with Spain, which brought about a treaty on the virtual basis of an abandonment of the Palatinate. Ill luck clung to him in peace as in war. The treaty was hardly concluded when Gustavus began his wonderful career of victory. Charles strove at once to profit by his success, and a few Scotch and English regiments followed Gustavus in his reconquest of the Palatinate. But the conqueror demanded, as the price of its restoration to Frederick, that Charles should again declare war upon Spain; and this was a price that the King would not pay, determined as he was not to plunge into a combat which would again force him to summon Parliament. His whole attention was absorbed by the pressing question of revenue. The debt was a large one; and the ordinary income of the Crown, unaided by parliamentary supplies, was inadequate to meet its ordinary expenditure. Charles himself was frugal and laborious; and the economy of Weston, the new Lord Treasurer, whom he made Earl of Portland, contrasted advantageously with the waste and extravagance of the government under Buckingham. But economy failed to close the yawning gulf of the treasury, and the course into which Charles was driven by the financial pressure showed with how wise a prescience the Commons had fixed on the point of arbitrary taxation as the chief danger to constitutional freedom.

It is curious to see to what shifts the royal pride was driven in

its effort at once to fill the Exchequer, and yet to avoid, as far as it could, any direct breach of constitutional law in the imposition of taxes by the sole authority of the Crown. The dormant powers of the prerogative were strained to their utmost. The right of the Crown to force knighthood on the landed gentry was revived, in order to squeeze them into composition for the refusal of it. Fines were levied on them for the redress of defects in their title-deeds. A Commission of the Forests exacted large sums from the neighbouring landowners for their encroachments on Crown lands. London, the special object of courtly dislike, on account of its stubborn Puritanism, was brought within the sweep of royal extortion by the enforcement of an illegal proclamation which James had issued, prohibiting its extension. Every house throughout the large suburban districts in which the prohibition had been disregarded was only saved from demolition by the payment of three years' rental to the Crown. Though the Catholics were no longer troubled by any active persecution, and the Lord Treasurer was in heart a Papist, the penury of the Exchequer forced the Crown to maintain the old system of fines for "recusancy." Vexatious measures of extortion such as these were far less hurtful to the State than the conversion of justice into a means of supplying the royal necessities by means of the Star Chamber. The jurisdiction of the King's Council had been revived by Wolsey as a check on the nobles; and it had received great developement, especially on the side of criminal law, during the Tudor reigns. Forgery, perjury, riot, maintenance, fraud, libel, and conspiracy, were the chief offences cognizable in this court, but its scope extended to every misdemeanour, and especially to charges where, from the imperfection of the common law, or the power of offenders, justice was baffled in the lower courts. Its process resembled that of Chancery: in State trials it acted on an information laid before it by the King's Attorney. Both witnesses and accused were examined on oath by special interrogatories, and the Court was at liberty to adjudge any punishment short of death. However distinguished the Star Chamber was in ordinary cases for the learning and fairness of its judgements, in political trials it was impossible to hope for exact and impartial justice from a tribunal almost entirely composed of privy councillors. The possession of

The King's Rule

The Star Chamber

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Fines and Monopolies

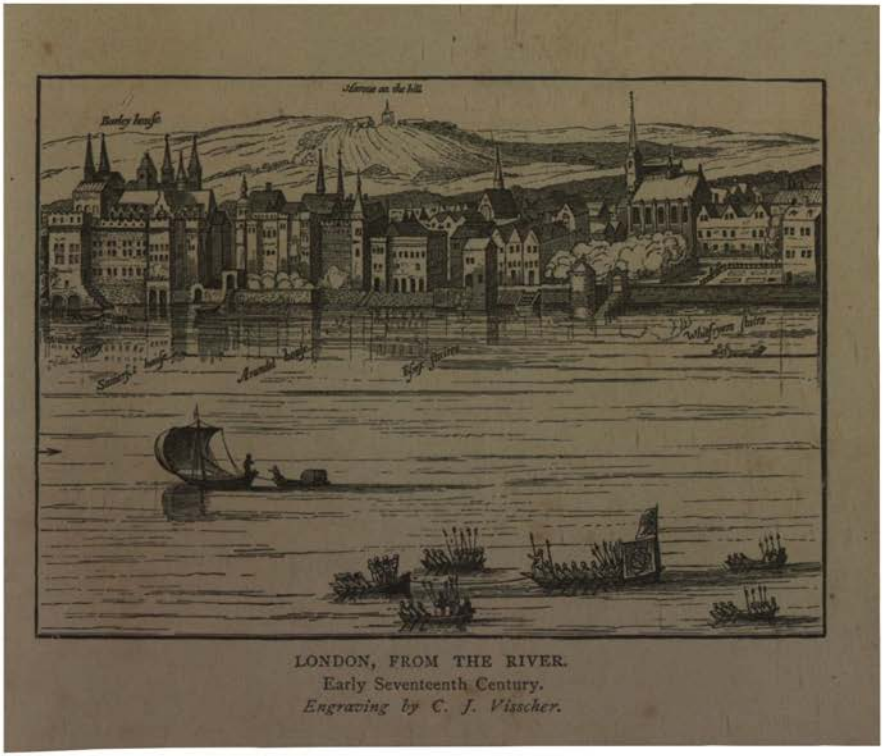
such a weapon would have been fatal to liberty under a great tyrant; under Charles it was turned freely to the profit of the Exchequer and the support of arbitrary rule. Enormous penalties were exacted for opposition to the royal will, and though the fines imposed were often remitted, they served as terrible engines of oppression. Fines such as these however affected a smaller range of sufferers than the financial expedient to which Weston had recourse in the renewal of monopolies. Monopolies, abandoned by Elizabeth, and extinguished by Act of Parliament under James,

SATIRE ON ALDERMAN ABEL, MONOPOLIST OF WINES, AND HIS WIFE
Broadside, 1641.

were again set on foot, and on a scale far more gigantic than had been seen before; the companies who undertook them paying a fixed duty on their profits as well as a large sum for the original concession of the monopoly. Wine, soap, salt, and almost every article of domestic consumption fell into the hands of monopolists, and rose in price out of all proportion to the profit gained by the Crown. "They sup in our cup," Colepepper said afterwards in the Long Parliament, "they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-fat, the wash bowls, and the powdering tub.

They share with the cutler in his box. They have marked and sealed us from head to foot." But in spite of these expedients the Treasury would have remained unfilled had not the King persisted in those financial measures which had called forth the protest of the Parliament. The exaction of customs duties went on as of old at the ports. The resistance of the London merchants to their payment was roughly put down; and one of them, Chambers, who

Customs



LONDON, FROM THE RIVER.
Early Seventeenth Century.
Engraving by C. J. Visscher.

complained bitterly that merchants were worse off in England than in Turkey, was brought before the Star Chamber and ruined by a fine of two thousand pounds. It was by measures such as these that Charles gained the bitter enmity of the great city whose strength and resources were fatal to him in the coming war. The freeholders of the counties were equally difficult to deal with. On one occasion, when those of Cornwall were called together at Bod-

FLIGHT OF THE TOWNSPEOPLE INTO THE COUNTRY TO ESCAPE FROM THE PLAGUE, A.D. 1630

"A Looking-glass for Town and Country;" broadside in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

min to contribute to a voluntary loan, half the hundreds refused, and the yield of the rest came to little more than two thousand pounds. One of the Cornishmen has left an amusing record of the scene which took place before the Commissioners appointed for assessment of the loan. "Some with great words and threatenings, some with persuasions," he says, "were drawn to it. I was like to have been complimented out of my money; but knowing with whom I had to deal, I held, when I talked with them, my hands fast in my pockets."

General Prosperity

By such means as these the debt was reduced, and the annual revenue of the Crown increased. Nor was there much sign of active discontent. Vexatious indeed and illegal as were the proceedings of the Crown, there seems in these earlier years of personal rule to have been little apprehension of any permanent danger to freedom in the country at large. To those who read the letters of the time there is something inexpressibly touching in the general faith of their writers in the ultimate victory of the Law. Charles was obstinate, but obstinacy was too common a foible amongst Englishmen to rouse any vehement resentment. The people were as stubborn as their King, and their political sense told them that the slightest disturbance of affairs must shake down the financial fabric which Charles was slowly building up, and force him back on subsidies and a Parliament. Meanwhile they would wait for better days, and their patience was aided by the general prosperity

AN ENGLISH KITCHENMAID.
Hollar, "Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus," 1640.

BURFORD PRIORY, OXFORDSHIRE.
Built by William Lenthall, Speaker of the Long Parliament.

of the country. The great Continental wars threw wealth into English hands. The intercourse between Spain and Flanders was carried on solely in English ships, and the English flag covered the intercourse between Portuguese ports and the colonies in Africa, India, and the Pacific. The long peace was producing its inevitable results in an extension of commerce and a rise of manufactures in the towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Fresh land was being brought into cultivation, and a great scheme was set on foot for reclaiming the Fens. The new wealth of the country gentry, through the increase of rent, was seen in the splendour of the houses which they were raising. The contrast of this peace and prosperity with the ruin and bloodshed of the Continent afforded a ready argument to the friends of the King's system. So tranquil was the outer appearance of the country that in Court circles all sense of danger had disappeared. "Some of the greatest statesmen and privy councillors," says May, "would ordinarily laugh when the word, 'liberty of the subject,' was named." There were courtiers bold enough to express their hope that "the King would never need any more Parliaments." But beneath this outer calm "the country," Clarendon honestly tells us while eulogizing the peace, "was full of pride and mutiny and discontent." Thousands were quitting England for America. The gentry held aloof from the Court. "The common people in the generality and the country freeholders would rationally argue of their own rights and the oppressions which were laid upon them."

A LADY OF THE ENGLISH COURT.
Hollar, "Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus," 1643.

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If Charles was content to deceive himself, there was one man among his ministers who saw that the people were right in their policy of patience, and that unless other measures were taken the fabric of despotism would fall at the first breath of adverse fortune.

Wentworth

Sir Thomas Wentworth, a great Yorkshire landowner and one of the representatives of his county, had stood during the Parliament of 1628 among the more prominent members of the popular party in the Commons. But from the first moment of his appearance in public his passionate desire had been to find employment in the service of the Crown. At the close of the preceding reign he was already connected with the Court, he had secured a seat in Yorkshire for one of the royal ministers, and was believed to be on the high road to a peerage. But the consciousness of political ability which spurred his ambition roused the jealousy of Buckingham; and the haughty pride of Wentworth was flung by repeated slights into an attitude of opposition, which his eloquence—grander in its sudden outbursts, though less earnest and sustained, than that of Eliot—soon rendered formidable. His intrigues at Court roused Buckingham to crush by a signal insult the rival whose genius he instinctively dreaded. While sitting in his court as sheriff of Yorkshire, Wentworth received the announcement of his dismissal from office, and of the gift of his post to Sir John Savile, his rival in the county. "Since they will thus weakly breathe on me a seeming disgrace in the public face of my country," he said with a characteristic outburst of contemptuous pride, "I shall crave

AN ENGLISH LADY IN WINTER DRESS.
Hollar, "Aula Veneris," 1644.

leave to wipe it away as openly, as easily!" His whole conception of a strong and able rule revolted against the miserable government of the favourite. Wentworth's aim was to force on the King, not such a freedom as Eliot longed for, but such a system as the Tudors had clung to, where a large and noble policy placed the sovereign naturally at the head of the people, and where Parliaments sank into mere aids to the Crown. But before this could be, Buckingham must be cleared away. It was with this end that Wentworth sprang to the front of the Commons in urging the Petition of Right. Whether in that crisis of Wentworth's life some nobler impulse, some true passion for the freedom he was to trample under foot mingled with his thirst for revenge, it is hard to tell. But his words were words of fire. "If he did not faithfully insist for the common liberty of the subject to be preserved whole and entire," it was thus he closed one of his speeches on the Petition, "it was his desire that he might be set as a beacon on a hill for all men else to wonder at."

Wentworth as Minister 1629

It is as such a beacon that his name has stood from that time to this. The death of Buckingham had no sooner removed the obstacle that stood between his ambition and the end at which it had aimed throughout, than the cloak of patriotism was flung by. Wentworth was admitted to the royal Council, and he took his seat at the board determined, to use his own phrase, to "vindicate the Monarchy for ever from the conditions and restraints of subjects." So great was the faith in his zeal and power which he knew how to breathe into his royal master that he was at once raised to the peerage, and placed with Laud in the first rank of the King's councillors. Charles had good ground for this rapid confidence in his new minister. In Wentworth, or as he is known from the title he assumed at the close of his life, in the Earl of Strafford, the very genius of tyranny was embodied. If he shared his master's belief that the arbitrary power which Charles was wielding formed part of the old constitution of the country, and that the Commons had gone out of their "ancient bounds" in limiting the royal prerogative, he was clear-sighted enough to see that the only way of permanently establishing absolute rule in England was not by reasoning, or by the force of custom, but by the force of fear. His system was the expression of his own inner

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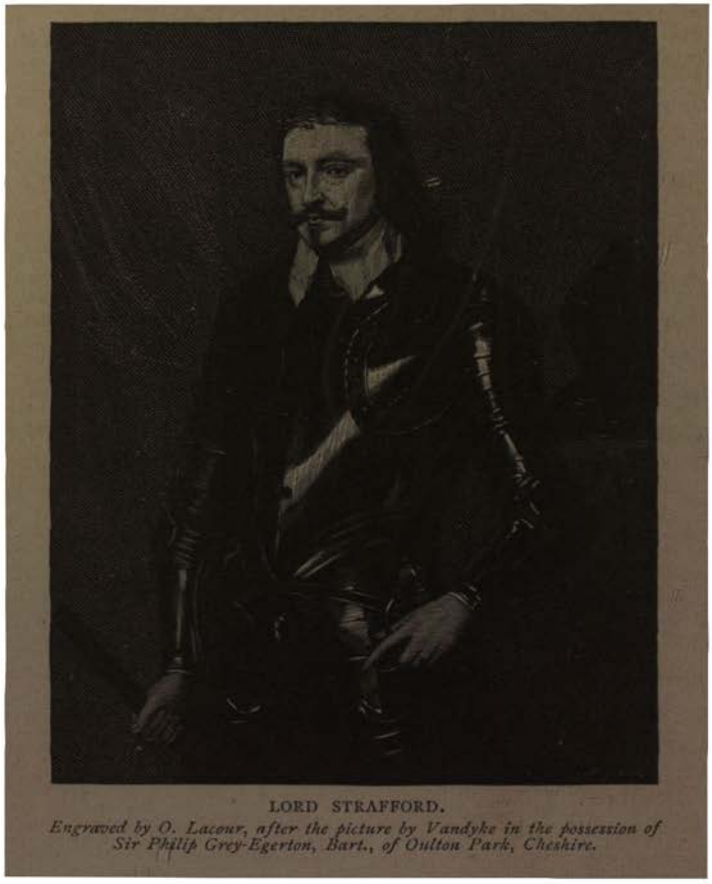
temper; and the dark gloomy countenance, the full heavy eye, which meet us in Strafford's portrait are the best commentary on his policy of "Thorough." It was by the sheer strength of his genius, by the terror his violence inspired amid the meaner men whom Buckingham had left, by the general sense of his power,



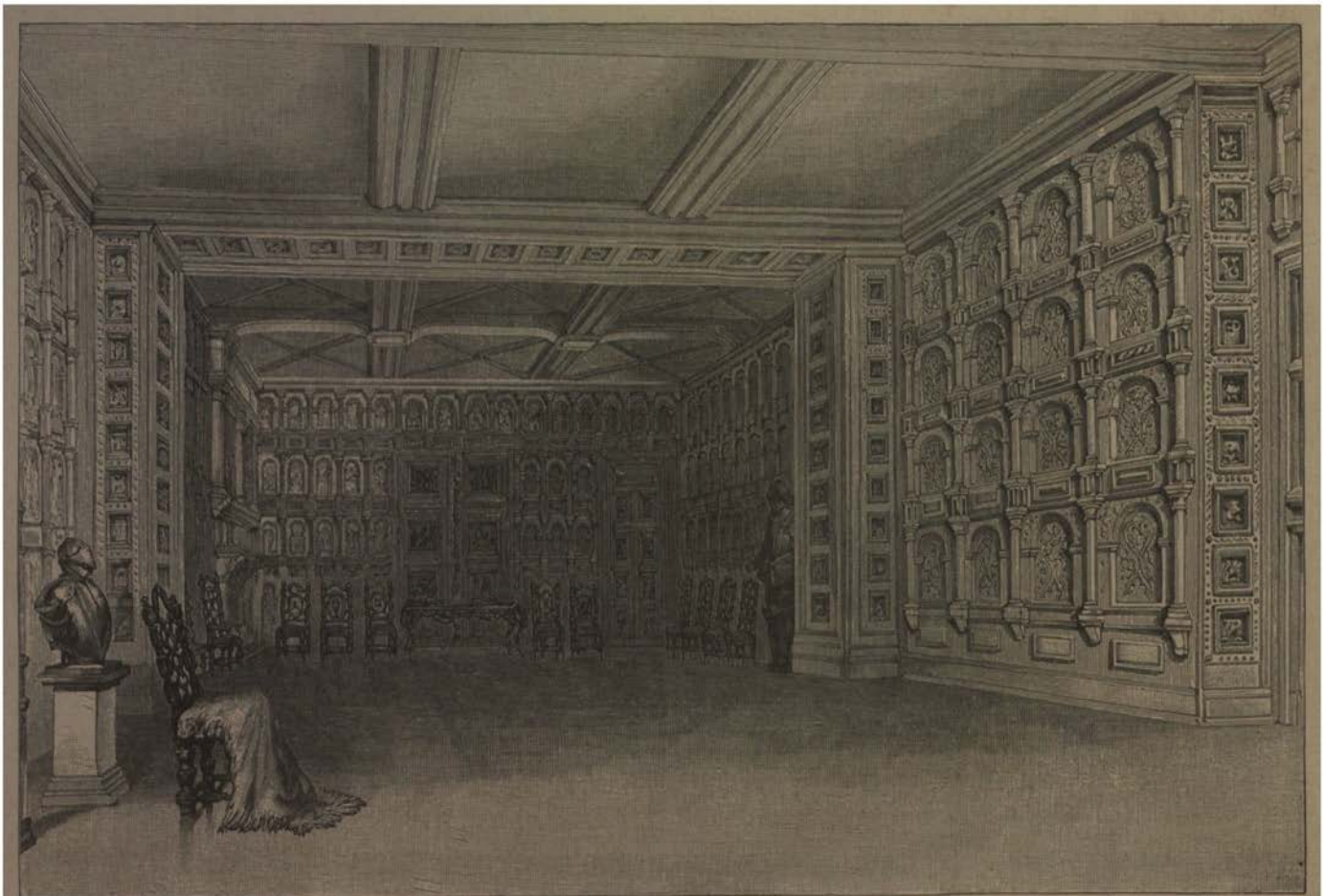
LORD STRAFFORD.
Engraved by O. Lacour, after the picture by Vandyke in the possession of Sir Philip Grey-Egerton, Bart., of Oulton Park, Cheshire.

that he had forced himself upon the Court. He had none of the small arts of a courtier. His air was that of a silent, proud, passionate man; when he first appeared at Whitehall his rough uncourtly manners provoked a smile in the royal circle. But the smile soon died into a general hate. The Queen, frivolous and

meddlesome as she was, detested him; his fellow-ministers intrigued against him, and seized on his hot speeches against the great lords, his quarrels with the royal household, his transports of passion at the very Council-table, to ruin him in his master's favour. The King himself, while steadily supporting him against his rivals, was utterly unable to understand his drift. Charles valued him as an administrator, disdainful of private ends, crushing great and small with the same haughty indifference to men's love or hate, and devoted to the one aim of building up the power of the Crown. But in his purpose of preparing for the great struggle with freedom which he saw before him, of building up by force such a despotism in England as Richelieu was building up in France, and of thus making England as great in Europe as France had been made by Richelieu, he could look for little sympathy and less help from the King.

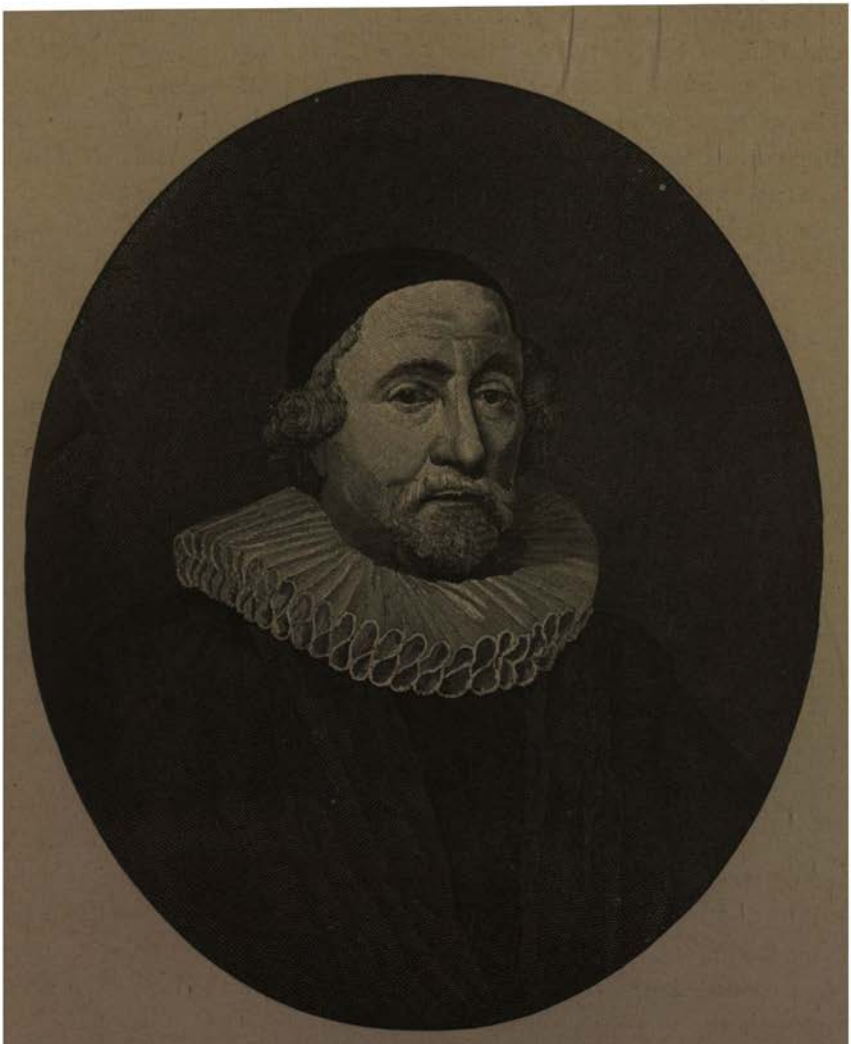
Wentworth in Ireland

Wentworth's genius turned impatiently to a sphere where it could act alone, untrammelled by the hindrances it encountered at home. His purpose was to prepare for the coming contest by the provision of a fixed revenue, arsenals, fortresses, and a standing army, and it was in Ireland that he resolved to find them. He saw in the miserable country which had hitherto been a drain upon the resources of the Crown the lever he needed for the overthrow of English freedom. The balance of Catholic against Protestant in Ireland might be used to make both parties dependent on the royal authority; the rights of conquest, which in Wentworth's theory vested the whole land in the absolute possession of the Crown, gave him a large field for his administrative ability; and for the rest he trusted, and trusted justly, to the force of his genius and of his will. In 1633 he was made Lord Deputy, and five years later his aim seemed all but realized. "The King," he wrote to Laud, "is as absolute here as any prince in the world can be." Wentworth's government indeed was a rule of terror. Archbishop Usher, with almost every name which we can respect in the island, was the object of his insult and oppression. His tyranny strode over all legal bounds. A few insolent words, construed as mutiny, were enough to bring Lord Mountnorris before a council of war, and to inflict on him a sentence of death. But his tyranny aimed at public ends, and in Ireland the heavy hand of a single despot



ROOM IN MALAHIDE CASTLE, CO. DUBLIN.
Early Seventeenth Century.
After W. H. Bartlett.

delivered the mass of the people at any rate from the local despotism of a hundred masters. The Irish landowners were for the first time made to feel themselves amenable to the law. Justice



JAMES USHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
From an engraving by George Vertue of a picture by Sir Peter Lely.

was enforced, outrage was repressed, the condition of the clergy was to some extent raised, the sea was cleared of the pirates who infested it. The foundation of the linen manufacture which was

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to bring wealth to Ulster, and the first developement of Irish commerce, date from the Lieutenancy of Wentworth. But good government was only a means with him for further ends. The noblest work to be done in Ireland was the bringing about a reconciliation between Catholic and Protestant, and an obliteration of the anger and thirst for vengeance which had been raised by the Ulster Plantation. Wentworth, on the other hand, angered the Protestants by a toleration of Catholic worship and a suspension of the persecution which had feebly begun against the priesthood, while he fed the irritation of the Catholics by schemes for a Plantation of Connaught. His purpose was to encourage a disunion which left both parties dependent for support and protection on the Crown. It was a policy which was to end in bringing about the horrors of the Irish revolt, the vengeance of Cromwell, and the long series of atrocities on both sides which make the story of the country he ruined so terrible to tell. But for the hour it left Ireland helpless in his hands. He doubled the revenue. He reorganized the army. To provide for its support he ventured, in
1634 spite of the panic with which Charles heard his project, to summon an Irish Parliament. His aim was to read a lesson to England and the King, by showing how completely that dreaded thing, a Parliament, could be made the organ of the royal will; and his success was complete. Two-thirds, indeed, of an Irish House of Commons consisted of the representatives of wretched villages, the pocket-boroughs of the Crown; while absent peers were forced to entrust their proxies to the Council to be used at its pleasure. But precautions were hardly needed. The two Houses trembled at the stern master who bade their members not let the King "find them muttering, or, to speak it more truly, mutinying in corners," and voted with a perfect docility the means of maintaining an army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse. Had the subsidy been refused, the result would have been the same. "I would undertake," wrote Wentworth, "upon the peril of my head, to make the King's army able to subsist and provide for itself among them without their help."

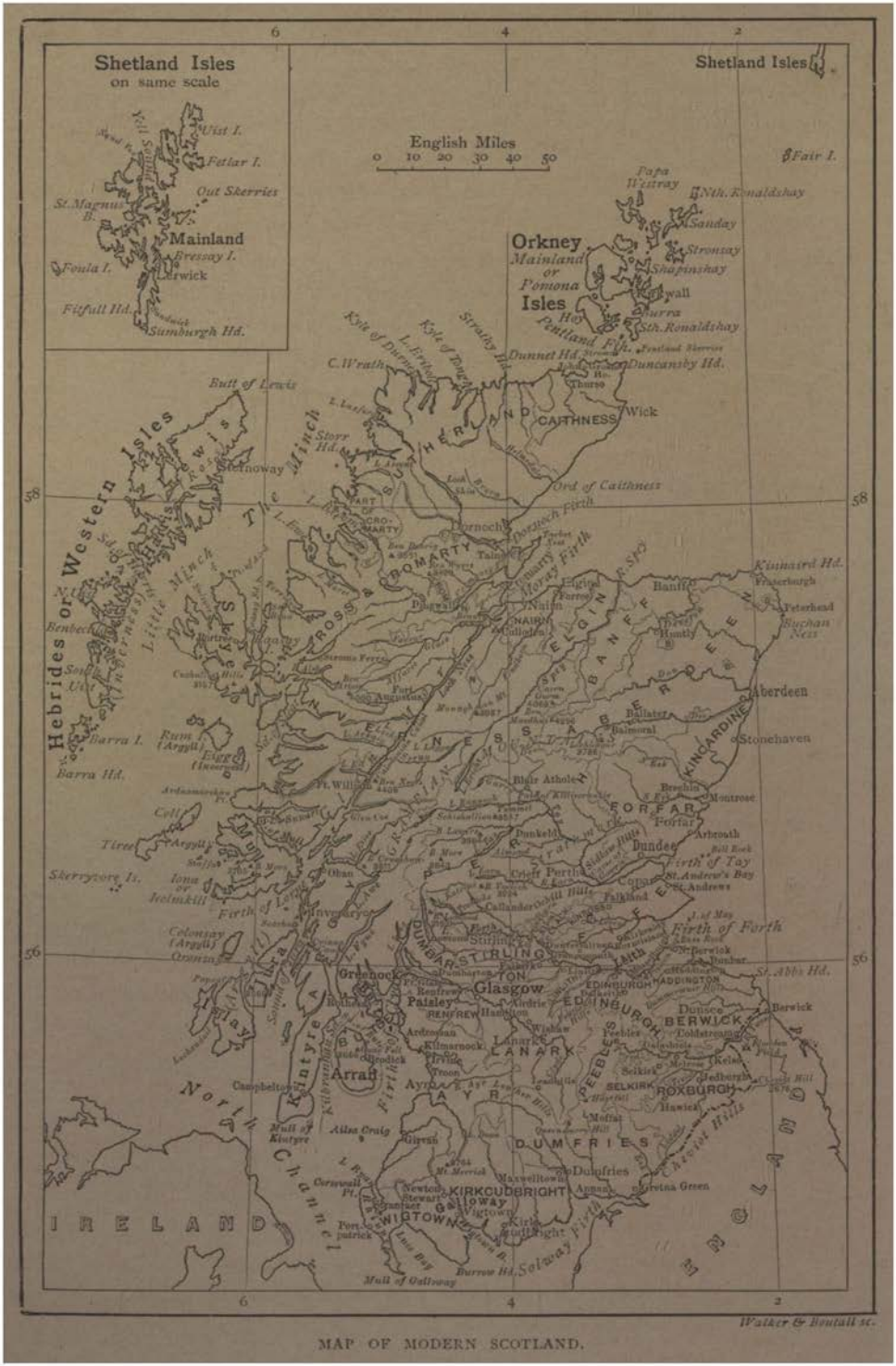
Charles and Scotland

While Wentworth was thus working out his system of "Thorough" on one side of St. George's Channel, it was being carried out on the other by a mind inferior, indeed, to his own

in genius, but almost equal to it in courage and tenacity. On Weston's death in 1635, Laud became virtually first minister at the English Council-board. We have already seen with what a reckless and unscrupulous activity he was crushing Puritanism in the English Church, and driving Puritan ministers from English pulpits; and in this work his new position enabled him to back the authority of the High Commission by the terrors of the Star Chamber. It was a work, indeed, which to Laud's mind was at once civil and religious: he had allied the cause of ecclesiastical organization with that of absolutism in the State; and, while borrowing the power of the Crown to crush ecclesiastical liberty, he brought the influence of the Church to bear on the ruin of civil freedom. But his power stopped at the Scotch frontier. Across the Border stood a Church with bishops indeed, but without a ritual, modelled on the doctrine and system of Geneva, Calvinist in teaching and to a great extent in government. The mere existence of such a Church gave countenance to English Puritanism, and threatened in any hour of ecclesiastical weakness to bring a dangerous influence to bear on the Church of England. With Scotland indeed, Laud could only deal indirectly through Charles, for the King was jealous of any interference of his English ministers or Parliament with his Northern Kingdom. But Charles was himself earnest to deal with it. He had imbibed his father's hatred of all that tended to Presbyterianism, and from the outset of his reign he had been making advance after advance towards the more complete establishment of Episcopacy. To understand, however, what had been done, and the relations which had by this time grown up between Scotland and its King, we must take up again the thread of its history which we broke at the moment when Mary fled for refuge over the English border.

STONE CANDLESTICK, 1634, IN FORM OF A ROMAN ALTAR.
Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.

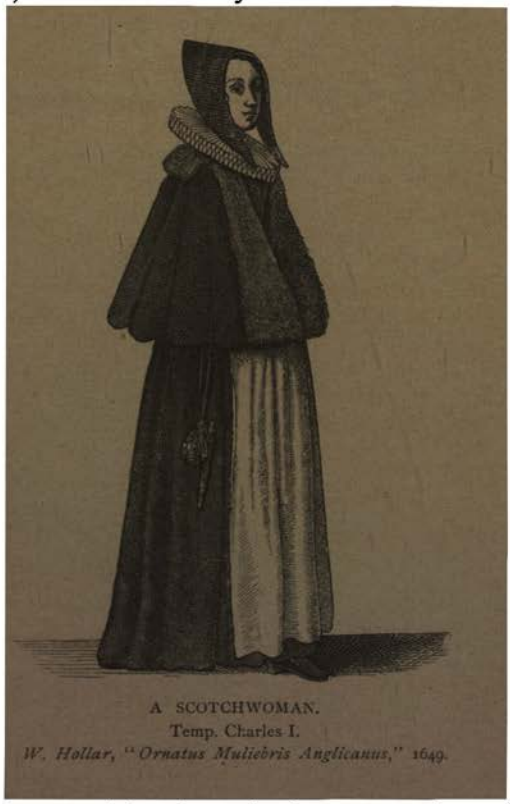
After a few years of wise and able rule, the triumph of



MAP OF MODERN SCOTLAND.

Scotland and the Stuarts
1572

Protestantism under the Earl of Murray had been interrupted by his assassination, by the revival of the Queen's faction, and by the renewal of civil war. The next regent, the child-king's grandfather, was slain in a fray; but under the strong hand of Morton the land won a short breathing-space. Edinburgh, the last fortress held in Mary's name, surrendered to an English force sent by Elizabeth; and its captain, Kirkcaldy of Grange, was hanged for treason in the market-place; while the stern justice of Morton forced peace upon the warring lords. The people of the Lowlands, indeed, were now stanch for the new faith; and the Protestant Church rose rapidly after the death of Knox into a power which appealed at every critical juncture to the deeper feelings of the nation at large. In the battle with Catholicism the bishops had clung to the old religion; and the new faith, left without episcopal interference, and influenced by the Genevan training of Knox, borrowed from Calvin its model of Church government, as it borrowed its theology. The system of Presbyterianism, as it grew up at the outset without direct recognition from the law, not only bound Scotland together as it had never been bound before by its administrative organization, its church synods and general assemblies, but by the power it gave the lay elders in each congregation, and by the summons of laymen in an overpowering majority to the earlier Assemblies, it called the people at large to a voice, and as it proved, a decisive voice, in the administration of affairs. If its government by ministers gave it the outer look of



A SCOTCHWOMAN.
Temp. Charles I.
W. Hollar, "Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus," 1649.

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an ecclesiastical despotism, no Church constitution has proved in practice so democratic as that of Scotland. Its influence in raising the nation at large to a consciousness of its own power is shown by the change which passes, from the moment of its final establishment, over the face of Scotch history. The sphere of action to which it called the people was in fact not a mere ecclesiastical but a national sphere; and the power of the Church was felt more and more over nobles and King. When after five years the union of his rivals put an end to Morton's regency, the possession of the young sovereign, James the Sixth, and the exercise of the royal authority in his name, became the constant aim of the factions who were tearing Scotland to pieces. As James grew to manhood, however, he was strong enough to break the yoke of the lords, and to become master of the great houses that had so long overawed the Crown. But he was farther than ever from being absolute master of his realm. Amidst the turmoil of the Reformation a new force had come to the front. This was the Scotch people which had risen into being under the guise of the Scotch Kirk.

1577

Andrew Melville

Melville, the greatest of the successors of Knox, claimed for the ecclesiastical body an independence of the State which James hardly dared to resent, while he struggled helplessly beneath the sway which public opinion, expressed through the General Assembly of the Church, exercised over the civil government. In the great crisis of the Armada his hands were fettered by the league with England which it forced upon him. The democratic boldness of Calvinism allied itself with the spiritual pride of the Presbyterian ministers in their dealings with the Crown. Melville in open council took James by the sleeve, and called him "God's silly vassal." "There are two Kings," he told him, "and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus the King, and His Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member." The words and tone of the great preacher were bitterly remembered when James mounted the English throne. "A Scottish Presbytery," he exclaimed years afterwards at the Hampton Court Conference, "as well fitteth with Monarchy as God and the Devil! No Bishop, no King!" But Scotland was resolved on "no bishop." Episcopacy had become identified among the more

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zealous Scotchmen with the old Catholicism they had shaken off. When he appeared at a later time before the English Council-table, Melville took the Archbishop of Canterbury by the sleeves of his rochet, and, shaking them in his manner, called them Romish rags, and marks of the Beast. Four years therefore after the ruin of the Armada, Episcopacy was formally abolished, and the Presbyterian system established by law as the mode of government of the Church of Scotland. The rule of the Church was placed in a General Assembly, with subordinate Provincial Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk Sessions, by which its discipline was carried down to every member of a congregation. All that James could save was the right of being present at the General Assembly, and of fixing a time and place for its annual meeting. But James had no sooner succeeded to the English throne than he used his new power in a struggle to undo the work which had been done. In spite of his assent to an act legalizing its annual convention, he hindered any meeting of the General Assembly for five successive years by repeated prorogations. The protests of the clergy were roughly met. When nineteen ministers constituted themselves an Assembly they were banished as traitors from the realm. Of the leaders who remained the boldest were summoned with Andrew Melville to confer with the King in England on his projects of change. On their refusal to betray the freedom of the Church they were committed to prison ; and an epigram which Melville wrote on the usages of the English communion was seized on as a ground for bringing him before the English Privy Council. He was sent to the Tower, and released after some years of imprisonment only to go into exile. Deprived of their leaders, threatened with bonds and exile, deserted by the nobles, ill supported as yet by the mass of the people, the Scottish ministers bent before the pressure of the Crown. Bishops were allowed to act as presidents in their synods ; and episcopacy was at last formally recognized in the Scottish Church. The pulpits were bridled. The General Assembly was brought to submission. The ministers and elders were deprived of their right of excommunicating offenders, save with a bishop's sanction. A Court of High Commission enforced the Supremacy of the Crown. But with this assertion of his royal authority James was content. His aim was political rather than

Presbyterianism established 1592

1605

1606

Episcopacy restored 1610

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religious, and in seizing on the control of the Church through his organized prelacy, he held himself to have won back that mastery of his realm which the Reformation had reft from the Scottish Kings. The earlier policy of Charles followed his father's line of action. It effected little save a partial restoration of Church-lands, which the lords were forced to surrender. But Laud's vigorous action soon made itself felt. His first acts were directed rather to

Laud and the Scotch Church

TRAQUAIR CASTLE, PEEBLESSHIRE.
Built c. 1635.

points of outer observance than to any attack on the actual fabric of Presbyterian organization. The Estates were induced to withdraw the control of ecclesiastical apparel from the Assembly, and to commit it to the Crown; a step soon followed by a resumption of their episcopal costume on the part of the Scotch
1633 bishops. When the Bishop of Moray preached before Charles in his rochet, on the King's visit to Edinburgh, it was the first instance of its use since the Reformation. The innovation was

followed by the issue of a royal warrant which directed all ministers to use the surplice in divine worship. From costume, however, the busy minister soon passed to weightier matters. Many years had gone by since he had vainly invited James to draw his Scotch subjects "to a nearer conjunction with the liturgy and canons of this nation." "I sent him back again," said the shrewd old King, "with the frivolous draft he had drawn. For all that, he feared not my anger, but assaulted me again with another ill-fangled platform to make that stubborn Kirk stoop more to the English platform; but I durst not play fast and loose with my word. He knows not the stomach of that people." But Laud knew how to wait, and his time had come at last. He was resolved to put an end to the Presbyterian character of the Scotch Church altogether, and to bring it to a uniformity with the Church of England. A book of canons issued by the sole authority of the King placed the government of the Church absolutely in the hands of its bishops; no Church Assembly might be summoned but by the King, no alteration in worship or discipline introduced but by his permission. As daring a stretch of the prerogative superseded what was known as Knox's Liturgy—the book of Common Order drawn up on the Genevan model by that Reformer, and generally used throughout Scotland—by a new Liturgy based on the English Book of Common Prayer. The Liturgy and canons drawn up by four Scottish bishops were laid before Laud; in their composition the General Assembly had neither been consulted nor recognized; and taken together they formed the code of a political and ecclesiastical system which aimed at reducing Scotland to an utter subjection to the Crown. To enforce them on the land was to effect a revolution of the most serious kind. The books however were backed by a royal injunction, and Laud flattered himself that the revolution had been wrought.

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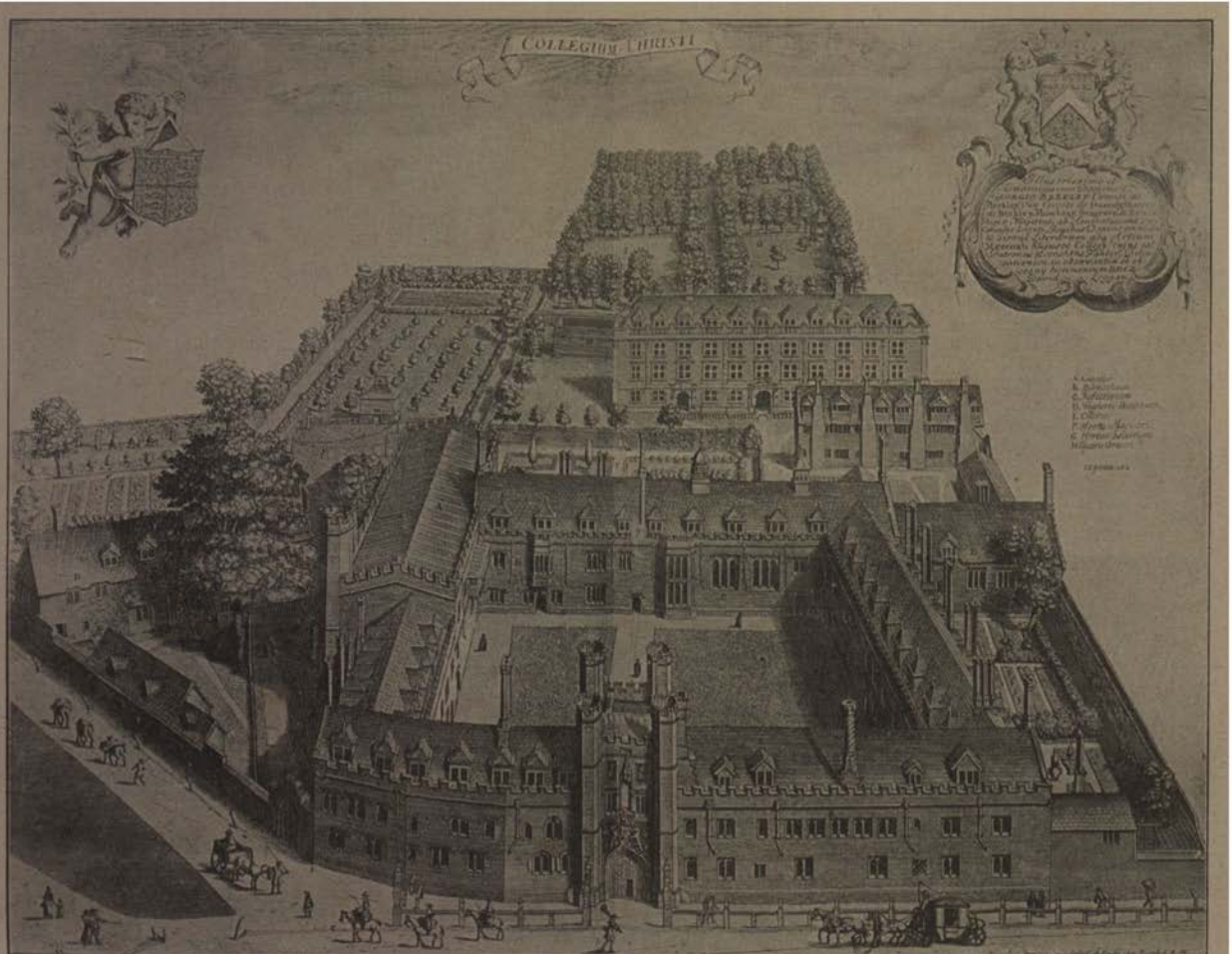
1636

The new Liturgy

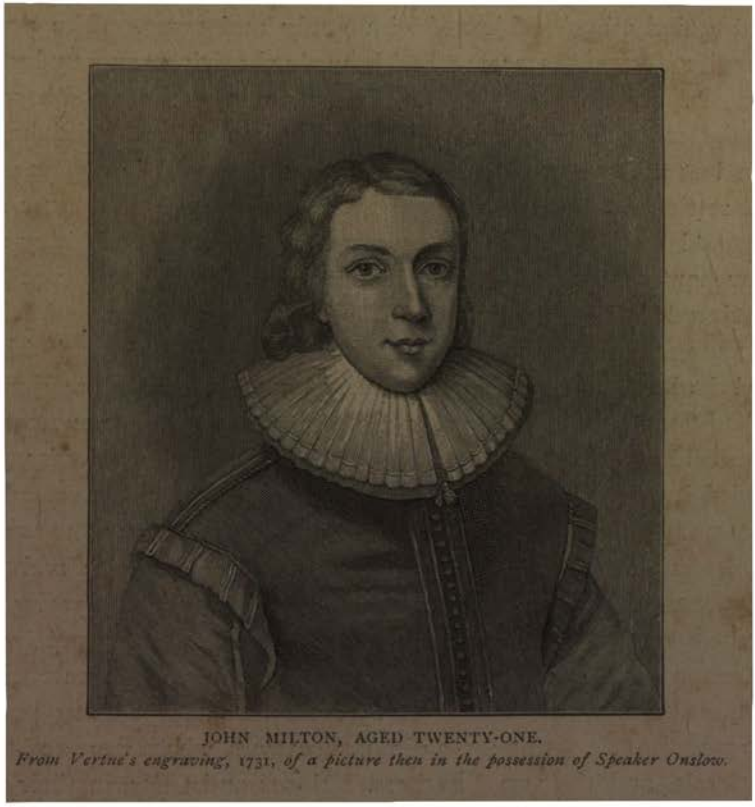
Triumphant in Scotland, with the Scotch Church—as he fancied—at his feet, Laud's hand still fell heavily on the English Puritans. There were signs of a change of temper which might have made even a bolder man pause. Thousands of "the best," scholars, merchants, lawyers, farmers, were flying over the Atlantic to seek freedom and purity of religion in the wilderness. Great landowners and nobles were preparing to follow. Ministers were

Milton at Horton



CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
Loggan, "Cantabrigia Illustrata," 1688.

quitting their parsonages rather than abet the royal insult to the sanctity of the Sabbath. The Puritans who remained among the clergy were giving up their homes rather than consent to the change of the sacred table into an altar, or to silence in their protests against the new Popery. The noblest of living Englishmen refused to become the priest of a Church whose ministry could



JOHN MILTON, AGED TWENTY-ONE.
From Vertue's engraving, 1731, of a picture then in the possession of Speaker Onslow.

only be "bought with servitude and forswearing." We have seen John Milton leave Cambridge, self-dedicated "to that same lot, however mean or high, to which time leads me and the will of Heaven." But the lot to which these called him was not the ministerial office to which he had been destined from his childhood. In later life he told bitterly the story, how he had been "Church-outed by the prelates." "Coming to some maturity of years, and

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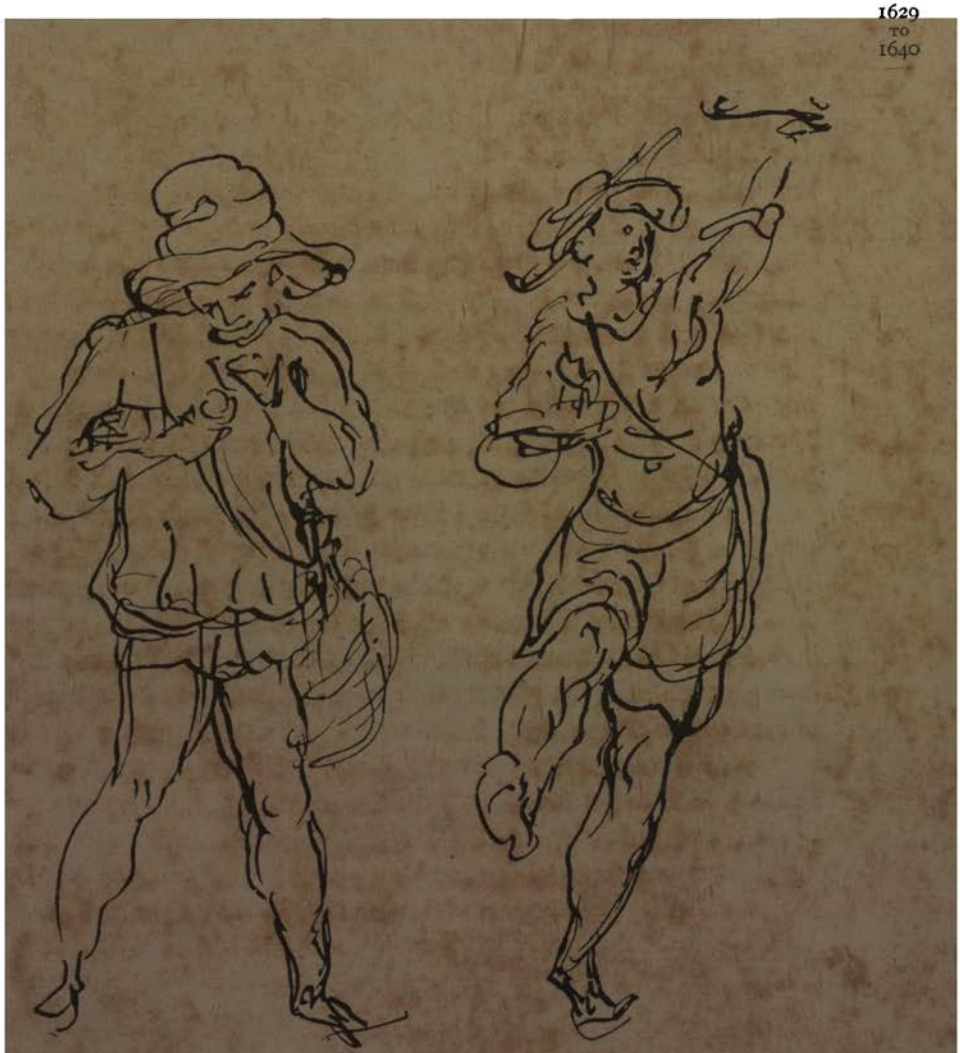
perceiving what tyranny had invaded in the Church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch he must either straight perjure or split his faith, I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing." In spite therefore of his father's regrets, he retired to a new home which the scrivener had found at Horton, a village in the neighbourhood of Windsor, and quietly busied himself with study and verse. The poetic impulse of the Renascence had been slowly dying away under the Stuarts. The stage was falling into mere coarseness and horror; Shakspere had died quietly at Stratford in Milton's childhood; the last and worst play of Ben Jonson appeared in the year of his settlement at Horton; and though Ford and Massinger still lingered on there were no successors for them but Shirley and Davenant. The philosophic and meditative taste of the age had produced indeed poetic schools of its own: poetic satire had become fashionable in Hall, better known afterwards as a bishop, and had been carried on vigorously by George Wither; the so-called "metaphysical" poetry, the vigorous and pithy expression of a cold and prosaic good sense, began with Sir John Davies, and buried itself in fantastic affectations in Donne; religious verse had become popular in the gloomy allegories of Quarles and the tender refinement which struggles through a jungle of puns and extravagances in George Herbert. But what poetic life really remained was to be found only in the caressing fancy and lively badinage of lyric singers like Herrick, whose grace is untouched by passion and often disfigured by coarseness and pedantry; or in the school of Spenser's more direct successors, where Browne in his pastorals, and the two Fletchers, Phineas and Giles, in their unreadable allegories, still preserved something of their master's sweetness, if they preserved nothing of his power. Milton was himself a Spenserian; he owned to Dryden in later years "that Spenser was his original," and in some of his earliest lines at Horton he dwells lovingly on "the sage and solemn tones" of the "Faerie Queen," its "forests and enchantments drear, where more is meant than meets the ear." But of the weakness and affectation which characterized Spenser's successors he had not a trace. In the

His early Poems

"Allegro" and "Penseroso," the first results of his retirement at Horton, we catch again the fancy and melody of the Elizabethan verse, the wealth of its imagery, its wide sympathy with nature and



FIGURES DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES FOR A MASQUE.

man. There is a loss, perhaps, of the older freedom and spontaneity of the Renascence, a rhetorical rather than passionate turn in the young poet, a striking absence of dramatic power, and a want of

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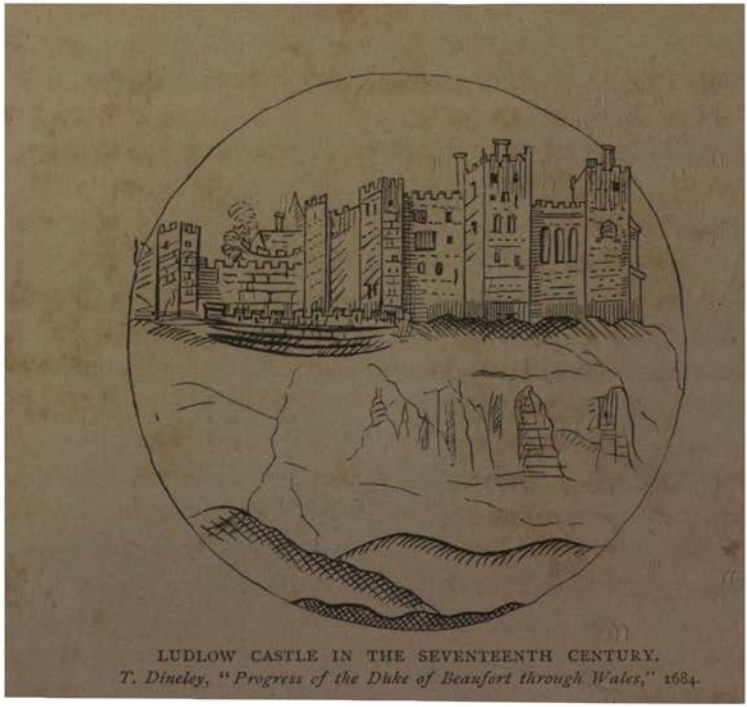
subtle precision even in his picturesque touches. Milton's imagination is not strong enough to identify him with the world which he imagines; he stands apart from it, and looks at it as from a distance, ordering it and arranging it at his will. But if in this respect he falls, both in his earlier and later poems, far below Shakspere or Spenser, the deficiency is all but compensated by his nobleness of feeling and expression, the severity of his taste, his sustained dignity, and the perfectness and completeness of his



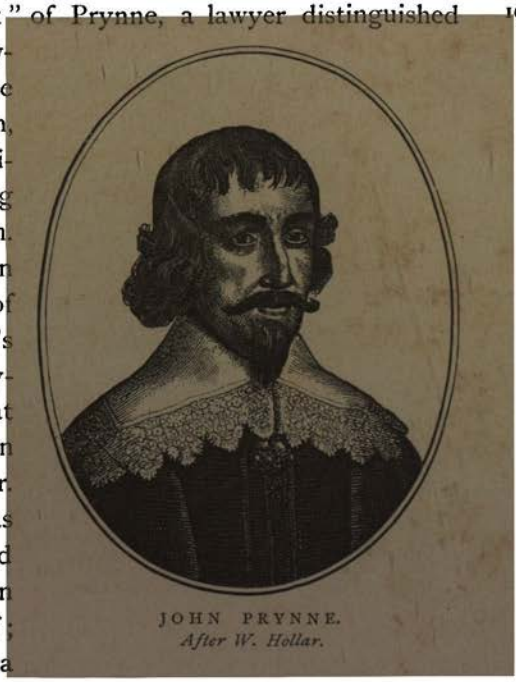
LUDLOW CASTLE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
T. Dineley, "Progress of the Duke of Beaufort through Wales," 1684.

work. The moral grandeur of the Puritan breathes, even in these
1634 lighter pieces of his youth, through every line. The "Comus," planned as a masque for the festivities which the Earl of Bridgewater was holding at Ludlow Castle, rises into an almost impassioned pleading for the love of virtue.

Hampden and Ship-money

The historic interest of Milton's "Comus" lies in its forming part of a protest made by the more cultured Puritans at this time against the gloomier bigotry which persecution was fostering in the party at large. The patience of Englishmen, in fact, was

slowly wearing out. There was a sudden upgrowth of virulent pamphlets of the old Martin Marprelate type. Men, whose names no one asked, hawked libels, whose authorship no one knew, from the door of the tradesman to the door of the squire. As the hopes of a Parliament grew fainter, and men despaired of any legal remedy, violent and weak-headed fanatics came, as at such times they always come, to the front. Leighton, the father of the saintly Archbishop of that name, had given a specimen of their tone at the outset of this period, by denouncing the prelates as men of blood, Episcopacy as Antichrist, and the Popish queen as a daughter of Heth. The "Histrio-mastix" of Prynne, a lawyer distinguished 1633 for his constitutional knowledge, but the most obstinate and narrow-minded of men, marked the deepening of Puritan bigotry under the fostering warmth of Laud's persecution. The book was an attack on players as the ministers of Satan, on theatres as the devil's chapels, on hunting, maypoles, the decking of houses at Christmas with evergreens, on cards, music, and false hair. The attack on the stage was as offensive to the more cultured minds among the Puritan party as to the Court itself; Selden and Whitelock took a prominent part in preparing a grand masque by which the Inns of Court resolved to answer its challenge, and in the following year Milton wrote his masque of "Comus" for Ludlow Castle. To leave Prynne, however, simply to the censure of wiser men than himself was too sensible a course for the angry Primate. No man was ever sent to prison before or since for such a sheer mass of nonsense; but a passage in the book was taken as a reflection on the Queen, and his sentence showed the hard cruelty of the Primate. Prynne was dismissed from the bar, deprived of his



JOHN PRYNNE.
After W. Hollar.

THE "SOVEREIGN OF THE SEAS."
Built for the Royal Navy in 1637.
Contemporary engraving by John Payne.

university degree, and set in the pillory. His ears were clipped from his head, and he was taken back to prison. But the storm of popular passion which was gathering was not so pressing a difficulty to the royal ministers at this time as the old difficulty of the exchequer. The ingenious devices of the Court lawyers, the revived prerogatives, the illegal customs, the fines and confiscations which were alienating one class after another and sowing in home after home the seeds of a bitter hatred to the Crown, were insufficient to meet the needs of the Treasury; and new exactions were necessary, at a time when the rising discontent made every new exaction a challenge to revolt. A fresh danger had suddenly appeared in an alliance of France and Holland which threatened English dominion over the Channel; and there were rumours of a proposed partition of the Spanish Netherlands between the two powers. It was necessary to put a strong fleet on the seas; and the money which had to be found at home was procured by a stretch of the prerogative which led afterwards to the great contest over ship-money. The legal research of Noy, one of the law officers of the Crown, found precedents among the records in the Tower for the provision of ships for the King's use by the port-towns of the kingdom, and for the furnishing of their equipment by the maritime counties. The precedents dated from times when no permanent fleet existed, and when sea warfare was waged by vessels lent for the moment by the various ports. But they were seized as a means of equipping a permanent navy without cost to the exchequer; the first demand for ships was soon commuted into a demand of money for the payment of ships; and the writs which were issued to London and the chief English ports were enforced by fine and imprisonment. When Laud took the direction of affairs a more vigorous and unscrupulous impulse made itself felt. To Laud as to Wentworth, indeed, the King seemed over-cautious, the Star Chamber feeble, the judges over-scrupulous. "I am for Thorough," the one writes to the other in alternate fits of impatience at the slow progress they are making. Wentworth was anxious that his good work might not "be spoiled on that side." Laud echoed the wish, while he envied the free course of the Lord Lieutenant. "You have a good deal of honour here," he writes, "for your proceeding. Go on a' God's name. I have done with

Ship-money 1634

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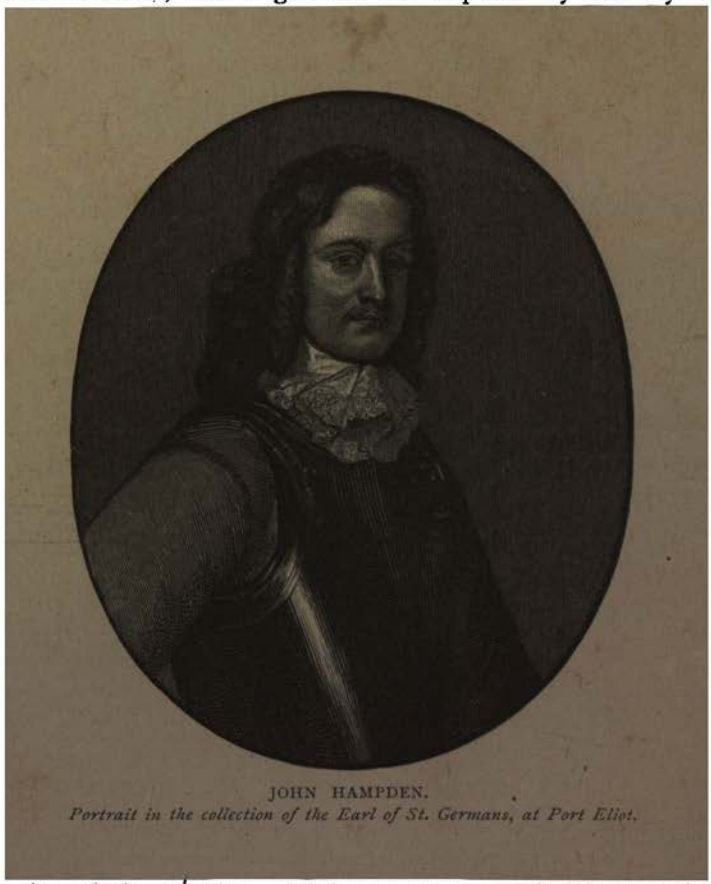
expecting of Thorough on this side." The financial pressure was seized by both to force the King on to a bolder course. "The debt of the Crown being taken off," Wentworth urged, "you may govern at your will." All pretence of precedents was thrown aside, and Laud resolved to find a permanent revenue in the conversion of the "ship-money," till now levied on ports and the maritime counties, into a general tax imposed by the royal will

The new Ship-money 1635



JOHN HAMPDEN.
Portrait in the collection of the Earl of St. Germans, at Port Eliot.

upon the whole country. "I know no reason," Wentworth had written significantly, "but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England as I, poor beagle, do here;" and the judges no sooner declared the new impost to be legal than he drew the logical deduction from their decision. "Since it is lawful for the King to impose a tax for the equipment of the navy, it must be equally so for the levy of an army: and the same reason which

authorizes him to levy an army to resist, will authorize him to carry that army abroad that he may prevent invasion. Moreover what is law in England is law also in Scotland and Ireland. The decision of the judges will therefore make the King absolute at home and formidable abroad. Let him only abstain from war for a few years that he may habituate his subjects to the payment of that tax, and in the end he will find himself more powerful and respected than any of his predecessors." But there were men who saw the danger to freedom in this levy of ship-money as clearly as Wentworth himself. The bulk of the country party abandoned all hope of English freedom. There was a sudden revival of the emigration to New England; and men of blood and fortune now prepared to seek a new home in the West. Lord Warwick secured the proprietorship of the Connecticut valley. Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke began negotiations for transporting themselves to the New World. Oliver Cromwell is said, by a doubtful tradition, to have only been prevented from crossing the seas by a royal embargo. It is more certain that Hampden purchased a tract of land on the Narragansett. John Hampden, a friend of Eliot's, a man of consummate ability, of unequalled power of persuasion, of a keen intelligence, ripe learning, and a character singularly pure and loveable, had already shown the firmness of his temper in his refusal to contribute to the forced loan of 1627. He now repeated his refusal, declared ship-money an illegal impost *Jan.* 1636 and resolved to rouse the spirit of the country by an appeal for protection to the law.

The news of Hampden's resistance thrilled through England at a moment when men were roused by the news of resistance in the north. The patience of Scotland had found an end at last. While England was waiting for the opening of the great cause of ship-money, peremptory orders from the King forced the clergy of Edinburgh to introduce the new service into their churches. But the Prayer Book was no sooner opened at the church of St. Giles's *July* 23 than a murmur ran through the congregation, and the murmur soon grew into a formidable riot. The church was cleared, and the service read; but the rising discontent frightened the judges into a decision that the royal writ enjoined the purchase, and not the use, of the Prayer Book. Its use was at once discontinued, and the

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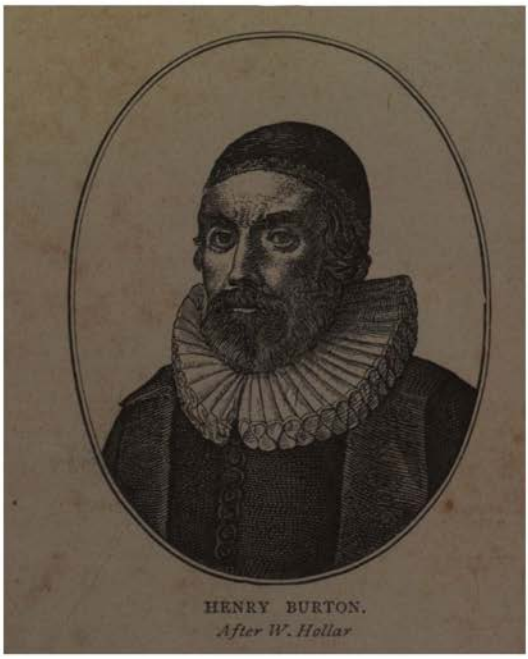
angry orders which came from England for its restoration were met by a shower of protests from every part of Scotland. The Duke of Lennox alone took sixty-eight petitions with him to the court; while ministers, nobles, and gentry poured into Edinburgh to organize the national resistance. The effect of these events in Scotland was at once seen in the open demonstration of discontent south of the border. The prison with which Laud had rewarded Prynne's bulky quarto had tamed his spirit so little that a new tract written within its walls attacked the bishops as devouring wolves and lords of Lucifer. A fellow-prisoner, John Bastwick, declared in his "Litany" that "Hell was broke loose, and the Devils in surplices, hoods, copes, and rochets, were come among us." Burton, a London clergyman silenced by the High Commission, called on all Christians to resist the bishops as "robbers of souls, limbs of the Beast, and factors of Antichrist." Raving of this sort might have been passed by had not the general sympathy shown

JOHN BASTWICK.
After W. Hollar.

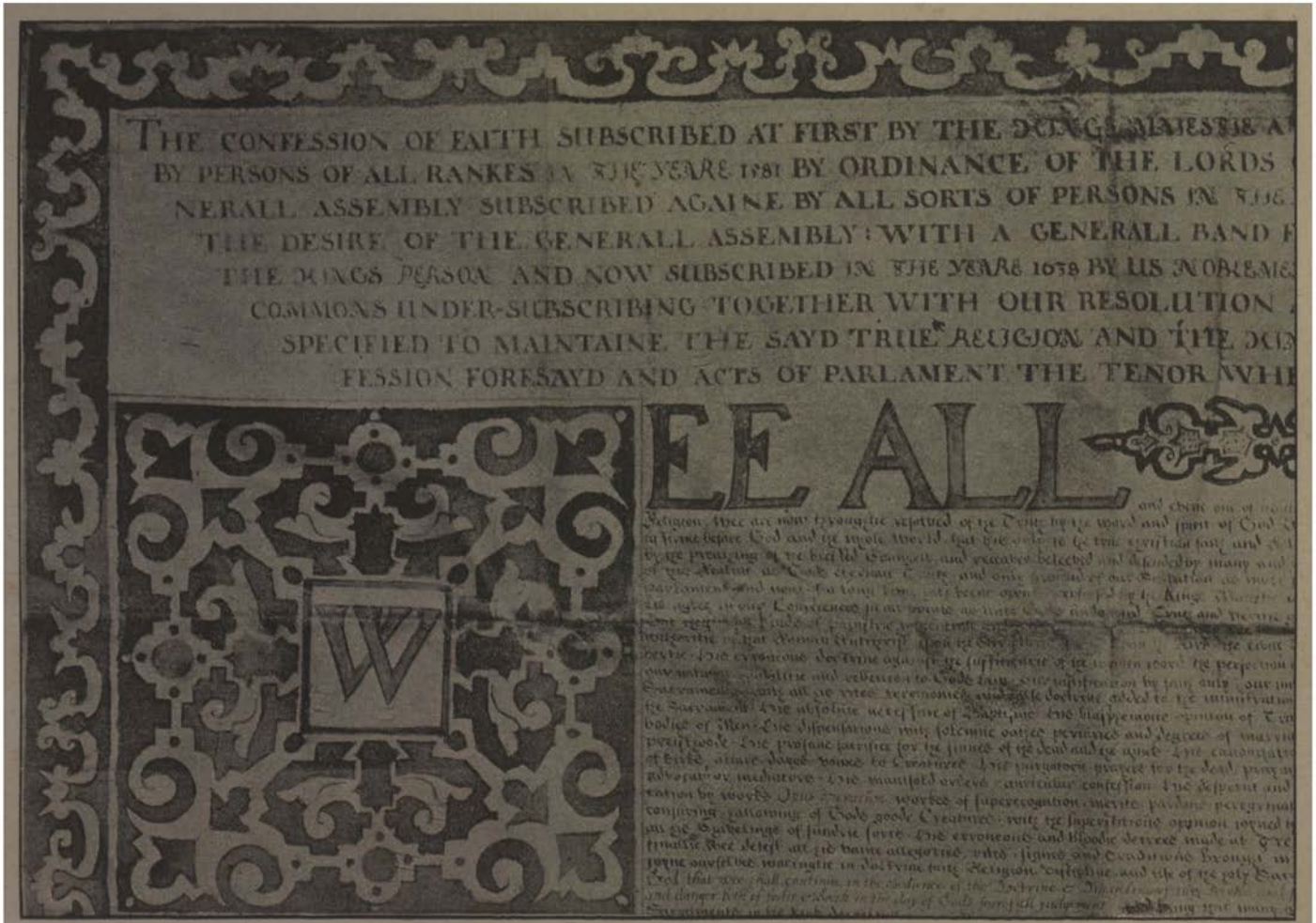


HENRY BURTON.
After W. Hollar

how fast the storm of popular passion was rising. Prynne and his fellow pamphleteers, when Laud dragged them before the Star Chamber as "trumpets of sedition," listened with defiance to their sentence of exposure in the pillory and imprisonment for life; and the crowd who filled Palace Yard to witness their punishment groaned at the cutting off of their ears, and "gave a great shout" when Prynne urged that the sentence on him was contrary to the law. A hundred thousand Londoners lined the road as they passed on the way to prison; and the journey of these "Martyrs," as the spectators called them, was like a triumphal progress. Startled as he was at the sudden burst of popular feeling, Laud remained dauntless as ever. Prynne's entertainers as he passed through the country were summoned before the Star Chamber, while the censorship struck fiercer blows at the Puritan press. But the real danger lay not in the libels of silly zealots but in the attitude of Scotland, and in the effect which was being produced in England at large by the trial of Hampden. For twelve days the cause of ship-money was solemnly argued before the full bench of judges. It was proved that the tax in past times had been levied only in cases of sudden emergency, and confined to the coast and port towns alone, and that even the show of legality had been taken from it by formal statute: it was declared a breach of the "fundamental laws" of England. The case was adjourned, but the discussion told not merely on England but on the temper of the Scots. Charles had replied to their petitions by a simple order to all strangers to leave the capital. But the Council at Edinburgh was unable to enforce his order; and the nobles and gentry before dispersing to their homes named a body of delegates, under the odd title of "the Tables," who carried on through the winter a series of negotiations with the Crown. The negotiations were interrupted in the following spring by a renewed order for their dispersion and for the acceptance of a Prayer Book; while the judges in England delivered at last their long-delayed decision on Hampden's case. Two judges only pronounced in his favour; though three followed them on technical grounds. The majority, seven in number, gave judgement against him. The broad principle was laid down that no statute prohibiting arbitrary taxation could be pleaded against the King's will. "I

Hampden's trial *Nov.* 1637

June 1638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PART OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, 1638.

Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.

never read or heard," said Judge Berkley, "that lex was rex, but it is common and most true that rex is lex." Finch, the Chief-Justice, summed up the opinions of his fellow judges. "Acts of Parliament to take away the King's royal power in the defence of his kingdom are void," he said: . . . . "they are void Acts of Parliament to bind the King not to command the subjects, their persons, and goods, and I say their money too, for no Acts of Parliament make any difference."

The Covenant

"I wish Mr. Hampden and others to his likeness," the Lord Deputy wrote bitterly from Ireland, "were well whipt into their right senses." Amidst the exultation of the Court over the decision of the judges, Wentworth saw clearly that Hampden's work had been done. His resistance had roused England to a sense of the danger to her freedom, and forced into light the real character of the royal claims. How stern and bitter the temper even of the noblest Puritans had become at last we see in the poem which Milton produced at this time, his elegy of "Lycidas." Its grave and tender lament is broken by a sudden flash of indignation at the dangers around the Church, at the "blind mouths that scarce themselves know how to hold a sheep-hook," and to whom "the hungry sheep look up, and are not fed," while "the grim wolf" of Rome "with privy paw daily devours apace, and nothing said!" The stern resolve of the people to demand justice on their tyrants spoke in his threat of the axe. Wentworth and Laud, and Charles himself, had yet to reckon with "that two-handed engine at the door" which stood "ready to smite once, and smite no more." But stern as was the general resolve, there was no need for immediate action, for the difficulties which were gathering in the north were certain to bring a strain on the Government which would force it to seek support from the people. The King's demand for immediate submission, which reached Edinburgh while England was waiting for the Hampden judgement, at once gathered the whole body of remonstrants together round "the Tables" at Edinburgh; and a protestation, read at Edinburgh and Stirling, was followed, on Johnston of Warriston's suggestion, by a renewal of the Covenant with God which had been drawn up and sworn to in a previous hour of peril, when Mary was still plotting against Protestantism, and Spain was preparing its Armada. "We

1638

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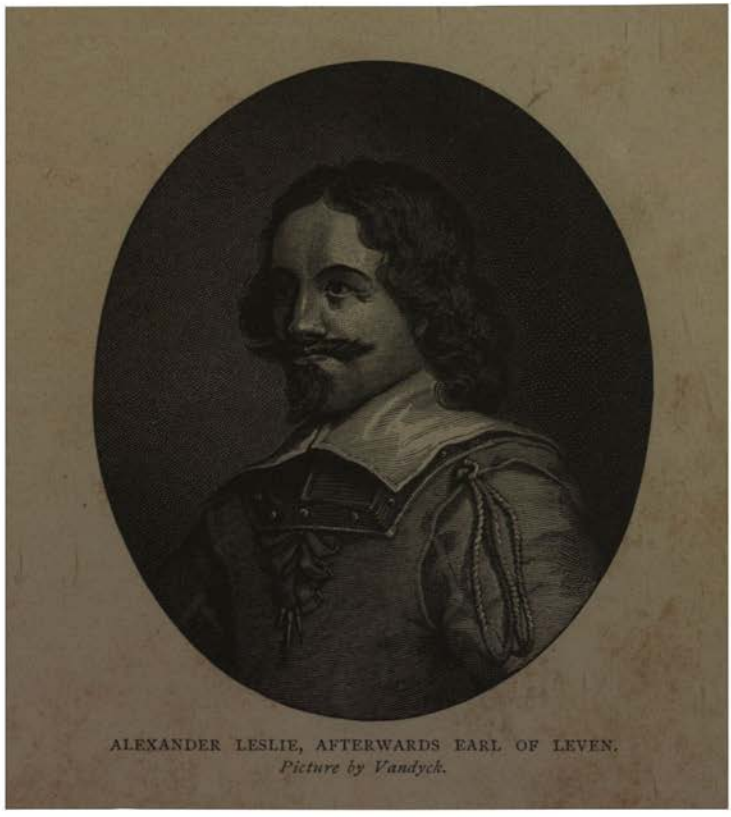
promise and swear," ran the solemn engagement at its close, "by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience of the said religion, and that we shall defend the same and resist all their contrary errors and corruptions according to our vocation and the utmost of that power which God has put into our hands all the days of our life." The Covenant was signed in the churchyard of the Grey Friars at Edinburgh, in a tumult of enthusiasm, "with such content and joy as those who, having long before been outlaws and rebels, are admitted again into covenant with God." Gentlemen and nobles rode with the document in their pockets over the country, gathering subscriptions to it, while the ministers pressed for a general consent to it from the pulpit. But pressure was needless. "Such was the zeal of subscribers that for a while many subscribed with tears on their cheeks"; some were indeed reputed to have "drawn their own blood and used it in place of ink to underwrite their names." The force given to Scottish freedom by this revival of religious fervour was seen in the new tone adopted by the Covenanters. The Marquis of Hamilton, who came as Royal Commissioner to put an end to the quarrel, was at once met by demands for an abolition of the Court of High Commission, the withdrawal of the Books of Canons and Common Prayer, a free Parliament, and a free General Assembly. It was in vain that he threatened war; even the Scotch Council pressed Charles to give fuller satisfaction to the people. "I will rather die," the King wrote to Hamilton, "than yield to these impertinent and damnable demands;" but it was needful to gain time. "The discontents at home," wrote Lord Northumberland to Wentworth, "do rather increase than lessen:" and Charles was without money or men. It was in vain that he begged for a loan from Spain on promise of declaring war against Holland, or that he tried to procure two thousand troops from Flanders with which to occupy Edinburgh. The loan and troops were both refused, and some contributions offered by the English Catholics did little to recruit the Exchequer. Charles had directed the Marquis to delay any decisive breach till the royal fleet appeared in the Forth; but it was hard to equip a fleet at all. Scotland indeed was sooner ready for war than the King. The Scotch volunteers who had been serving in the Thirty Years' War streamed home at the

The Scotch revolution

The Scotch war

call of their brethren. General Leslie, a veteran trained under Gustavus, came from Sweden to take the command of the new forces. A voluntary war tax was levied in every shire. The danger at last forced the King to yield to the Scotch demands; but he had no sooner yielded than the concession was withdrawn, and the Assembly hardly met before it was called upon to disperse. By an almost unanimous vote, however, it resolved to continue its



ALEXANDER LESLIE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF LEVEN.
Picture by Vandyck.

session. The innovations in worship and discipline were abolished, episcopacy was abjured, the bishops deposed, and the system of Presbyterianism re-established in its fullest extent. The news that Charles was gathering an army at York, and reckoning for support on the scattered loyalists in Scotland itself, was answered by the seizure of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Stirling; while 10,000 well-equipped troops under Leslie and the Earl of Montrose entered Aberdeen, and brought the Catholic Earl of Huntly a prisoner to

1639

PARLIAMENT-HOUSE, EDINBURGH.
Built 1632—1639.

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the south. Instead of overawing the country, the appearance of the royal fleet in the Forth was the signal for Leslie's march with 20,000 men to the Border. Charles had hardly pushed across the Tweed, when the "old little crooked soldier," encamping on the hill of Dunse Law, fairly offered him battle.

The Bishops' War

Charles however, without money to carry on war, was forced to consent to the gathering of a free Assembly and of a Scotch Parliament. But in his eyes the pacification at Berwick was a mere suspension of arms; his summons of Wentworth from Ireland was a proof that violent measures were in preparation, and the Scots met the challenge by seeking for aid from France. The discovery of a correspondence between the Scotch leaders and the French court raised hopes in the King that an appeal to the country for aid against Scotch treason would still find an answer in English loyalty. Wentworth, who was now made Earl of Strafford, had never ceased to urge that the Scots should be whipped back to their border; he now agreed with Charles that a Parliament should be called, the correspondence laid before it, and advantage taken of the burst of indignation on which the King counted to procure a heavy subsidy. While Charles summoned what from its brief duration is known as the Short Parliament, Strafford hurried to Ireland to levy forces. In fourteen days he had obtained money and men from his servile Parliament, and he came back flushed with his success, in time for the meeting of the Houses at Westminster. But the lesson failed in its effect. Every member of the Commons knew that Scotland was fighting the battle of English liberty. All hope of bringing them to any attack upon the Scots proved fruitless. The intercepted letters were quietly set aside, and the Commons declared as of old that redress of grievances must precede the grant of supplies. No subsidy could be granted till security was had for religion, for property, and for the liberties of Parliament. An offer to relinquish ship-money failed to draw Parliament from its resolve, and after three weeks' sitting it was dissolved. "Things must go worse before they go better," was the cool comment of St. John, one of the patriot leaders. But the country was strangely moved. "So great a defection in the kingdom," wrote Lord Northumberland, "hath not been known in the memory of man." Strafford alone stood

The Short Parliament April 1640

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1629 TO 1640

undaunted. He urged that, by the refusal of the Parliament to supply the King's wants, Charles was "freed from all rule of government," and entitled to supply himself at his will. The Earl was bent upon war, and took command of the royal army, which again advanced to the north. But the Scots were ready to cross the border; forcing the passage of the Tyne in the face of an English detachment, they occupied Newcastle, and despatched from that town their proposals of peace. They prayed the King to consider their grievances, and, "with the advice and consent of the Estates of England convened in Parliament, to settle a firm and desirable peace." The prayer was backed by preparations for a march upon York, where Charles had abandoned himself to despair. Strafford's troops were a mere mob; neither by threats nor prayers could he recall them to their duty, and he was forced to own that two months were required before they could be fit for action. It was in vain that Charles won a truce. Behind him in fact England was all but in revolt. The London apprentices mobbed Laud at Lambeth, and broke up the sittings of the High Commission at St. Paul's. The war was denounced everywhere as "the Bishops' War," and the new levies murdered officers whom they suspected of Papistry, broke down altar-rails in every church they passed, and deserted to their homes. Two peers, Lord Wharton and Lord Howard, ventured to lay before the King himself a petition for peace with the Scots; and though Strafford arrested and proposed to shoot them as mutineers, the English Council shrank from desperate courses. The King still strove to escape from the humiliation of calling a Parliament. He summoned a Great Council of the Peers at York. But his project broke down before its general repudiation by the nobles; and with wrath and shame at his heart Charles was driven to summon again the Houses to Westminster.

Section VI.—The Long Parliament, 1640—1642

[*Authorities.*—Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," as Hallam justly says, "belongs rather to the class of memoirs" than of histories, and the rigorous analysis of it by Ranke shows the very different value of its various parts. Though the work will always retain a literary interest from its nobleness of style and the grand series of character-portraits which it embodies, the worth of its account of all that preceded the war is almost destroyed by the contrast between its author's conduct at the time and his later description of the Parliament's proceedings, as well as by the deliberate and malignant falsehood with which he has perverted the whole action of his parliamentary opponents. May's "History of the Long Parliament" is fairly accurate and impartial; but the basis of any real account of it must be found in its own proceedings as they have been preserved in the notes of Sir Ralph Verney and Sir Simonds D'Ewes. The last remain unpublished; but Mr. Forster has drawn much from them in his two works, "The Grand Remonstrance" and "The Arrest of the Five Members." The collections of state-papers by Rushworth and Nalson are indispensable for this period. It is illustrated by a series of memoirs, of very different degrees of value, such as those of Whitelock, Ludlow, and Sir Philip Warwick, as well as by works like Mrs. Hutchinson's memoir of her husband, or Baxter's "Autobiography." For Irish affairs we have a vast store of materials in the Ormond papers and letters collected by Carte; for Scotland, "Baillie's Letters" and Mr. Burton's History. Lingard is useful for information as to intrigues with the Catholics in England and Ireland; and Guizot directs special attention to the relations with foreign powers. Pym has been fairly sketched with other statesmen of the time by Mr. Forster in his "Statesmen of the Commonwealth," and in an Essay on him by Mr. Goldwin Smith. A good deal of valuable research for the period in general is to be found in Mr. Sandford's "Illustrations of the Great Rebellion."] (Mr. Gardiner has now carried on his History to 1644.—*Ed.*)

Pym

If Strafford embodied the spirit of tyranny, John Pym, the leader of the Commons from the first meeting of the new houses at Westminster, stands out for all after time as the embodiment of law. A Somersetshire gentleman of good birth and competent fortune, he entered on public life in the Parliament of 1614, and was imprisoned for his patriotism at its close. He had been a leading member in that of 1620, and one of the "twelve ambassadors" for whom James ordered chairs to be set at Whitehall.

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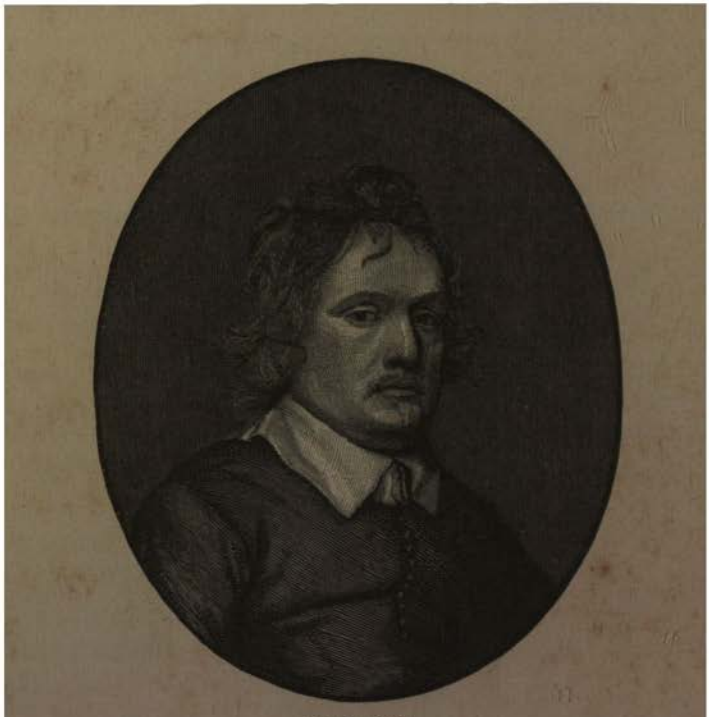
THE LONG PARLIAMENT 1640 TO 1642

Of the band of patriots with whom he had stood side by side in the constitutional struggle against the earlier despotism of Charles he was almost the sole survivor. Coke had died of old age; Cotton's heart was broken by oppression; Eliot had perished in the Tower; Wentworth had apostatized. Pym alone remained, resolute, patient as of old; and as the sense of his greatness grew silently during the eleven years of deepening misrule, the hope



JOHN PYM.
Miniature by Samuel Cooper, in the collection of Mrs. Russell Astley, at Chequers Court.

and faith of better things clung almost passionately to the man who never doubted of the final triumph of freedom and the law. At their close, Clarendon tells us, in words all the more notable for their bitter tone of hate, "he was the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that has lived at any time." He had shown he knew how to wait, and when waiting was over he showed he knew how to act. On the eve of the Long Parliament he rode through England to quicken the electors to a sense of the crisis

which had come at last; and on the assembling of the Commons he took his place, not merely as member for Tavistock, but as their acknowledged head. Few of the country gentlemen, indeed, who formed the bulk of the members, had sat in any previous House; and of the few, none represented in so eminent a way the Parliamentary tradition on which the coming struggle was to turn. Pym's eloquence, inferior in boldness and originality to that of Eliot or Wentworth, was better suited by its massive and logical force to convince and guide a great party; and it was backed by a calmness of temper, a dexterity and order in the management of public business, and a practical power of shaping the course of debate, which gave a form and method to Parliamentary proceedings such as they had never had before. Valuable, however, as these qualities were, it was a yet higher quality which raised Pym into the greatest, as he was the first, of Parliamentary leaders. Of the five hundred members who sate round him at St. Stephen's, he was the one man who had clearly foreseen, and as clearly resolved how to meet, the difficulties which lay before them. It was certain that Parliament would be drawn into a struggle with the Crown. It was probable that in such a struggle the House of Commons would be hampered, as it had been hampered before, by the House of Lords. The legal antiquaries of the older constitutional school stood helpless before such a conflict of co-ordinate powers, a conflict for which no provision had been made by the law, and on which precedents threw only a doubtful and conflicting light. But with a knowledge of precedent as great as their own, Pym rose high above them in his grasp of constitutional principles. He was the first English statesman who discovered, and applied to the political circumstances around him, what may be called the doctrine of constitutional proportion. He saw that as an element of constitutional life Parliament was of higher value than the Crown; he saw, too, that in Parliament itself the one essential part was the House of Commons. On these two facts he based his whole policy in the contest which followed. When Charles refused to act with the Parliament, Pym treated the refusal as a temporary abdication on the part of the sovereign, which vested the executive power in the two Houses until new arrangements were made. When the Lords obstructed

His political theory

LORDRE MANIERE ET SCEANCE DE SA MAIESTE BRITANIQVE
AVEC LES SEIGNEVRS SPIRITVELZ ET TEMPORELZ DANS LE HAVLT PARLEMENT

CHARLES I. IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.
"Discours du bon et loial subject de la Grande Bretagne." 1648.

public business, he warned them that obstruction would only force the Commons "to save the kingdom alone." Revolutionary as these principles seemed at the time, they have both been recognized as bases of our constitution since the days of Pym. The first principle was established by the Convention and Parliament which followed on the departure of James the Second; the second by the acknowledgement on all sides since the Reform Bill of 1832 that the government of the country is really in the hands of the House of Commons, and can only be carried on by ministers who represent the majority of that House. Pym's temper, indeed, was the very opposite of the temper of a revolutionist. Few natures have ever been wider in their range of sympathy or action. Serious as his purpose was, his manners were genial, and even courtly: he turned easily from an invective against Strafford to a chat with Lady Carlisle; and the grace and gaiety of his social tone, even when the care and weight of public affairs were bringing him to his grave, gave rise to a hundred silly scandals among the prurient royalists. It was this striking combination of genial versatility with a massive force in his nature which marked him out from the first moment of power as a born ruler of men. He proved himself at once the subtlest of diplomatists and the grandest of demagogues. He was equally at home in tracking the subtle intricacies of royalist intrigues, or in kindling popular passion with words of fire. Though past middle life when his work really began, for he was born in 1584, four years before the coming of the Armada, he displayed from the first meeting of the Long Parliament the qualities of a great administrator, an immense faculty for labour, a genius for organization, patience, tact, a power of inspiring confidence in all whom he touched, calmness and moderation under good fortune or ill, an immovable courage, an iron will. No English ruler has ever shown greater nobleness of natural temper or a wider capacity for government than the Somersetshire squire whom his enemies, made clear-sighted by their hate, greeted truly enough as "King Pym."

His political genius

His ride over England with Hampden on the eve of the elections had been hardly needed, for the summons of a Parliament at once woke the kingdom to a fresh life. The Puritan emigration to New England was suddenly and utterly suspended; "the

The Work of the Parliament

WESTMINSTER.
Temp. Charles I.
After W. Hollar, 1647.

change," said Winthrop, "made all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world." The public discontent spoke from every Puritan pulpit, and expressed itself in a sudden burst of pamphlets, the first-fruits of the thirty thousand which were issued in the next twenty years, and which turned England at large into a school of political discussion. The resolute looks of the members as they gathered at Westminster contrasted with the hesitating words of the King, and each brought from borough or county a petition of grievances. Fresh petitions were brought every day by bands of citizens or farmers. Forty committees were appointed to examine and report on them, and their reports formed the grounds on which the Commons acted. Prynne and his fellow "martyrs," recalled from their prisons, entered London in triumph amidst the shouts of a great multitude who strewed laurel in their path. The Commons dealt roughly with the agents of the royal system. In every county a list of "delinquents," or officers who had carried out the plans of the government, was ordered to be prepared and laid before the House. But their first blow was struck at the leading ministers of the King. Even Laud was not the centre of so great and universal a hatred as the Earl of Strafford. Strafford's guilt was more than the guilt of a servile instrument of tyranny, it was the guilt of "that grand apostate to the Commonwealth who," in the terrible words which closed Lord Digby's invective, "must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other." He was conscious of his danger, but Charles forced him to attend the Court; and with characteristic boldness he resolved to anticipate attack by accusing the Parliamentary leaders of a treasonable correspondence with the Scots. He was just laying his scheme before Charles when the news reached him that Pym was at the bar of the Lords with his impeachment for high treason. "With speed," writes an eye-witness, "he comes to the House: he calls rudely at the door," and, "with a proud glooming look, makes towards his place at the board-head. But at once many bid him void the House, so he is forced in confusion to go to the door till he was called." He was only recalled to hear his committal to the Tower. He was still resolute to retort the charge of treason on his foes, and "offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word." The keeper of the Black Rod

1640

Impeachment of Strafford

Nov. 11

LAMBETH PALACE.
Temp. Charles I.
After W. Hollar, 1647.

demanded his sword as he took him in charge. "This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of all England would have stood uncovered." The blow was quickly followed up. Windebank, the Secretary of State, was charged with corrupt favouring of recusants, and escaped to France; Finch, the Lord Keeper, was impeached, and fled in terror over-sea. Laud himself was thrown into prison. The shadow of what was to come falls across the pages of his diary, and softens the hard temper of the man into a strange tenderness. "I stayed at Lambeth till the evening," writes the Archbishop, "to avoid the gaze of the people. I went to evening prayer in my chapel. The Psalms of the day and chapter fifty of Isaiah gave me great comfort. God make me worthy of it, and fit to receive it. As I went to my barge, hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there and prayed for my safety and return to my house. For which I bless God and them." Charles was forced to look helplessly on at the wreck of the royal system, for the Scotch army was still encamped in the north; and the Parliament, which saw in the presence of the Scots a security against its own dissolution, was in no hurry to vote the money necessary for their withdrawal. "We cannot do without them," Strode honestly confessed, "the Philistines are still too strong for us." One by one the lawless acts of Charles's government were undone. Ship-money was declared illegal, the judgement in Hampden's case annulled, and one of the judges committed to prison. A statute declaring "the ancient right of the subjects of this kingdom that no subsidy, custom, impost, or any charge whatsoever, ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandize exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, without common consent in Parliament," put an end for ever to all pretensions to a right of arbitrary taxation on the part of the Crown. A Triennial Bill enforced the assembly of the Houses every three years, and bound the returning officers to proceed to election if the Royal writ failed to summon them. A Committee of Religion had been appointed to consider the question of Church Reform, and on its report the Commons passed a bill for the removal of bishops from the House of Lords.

Fall of the Ministers *Dec.* 1640

1641

The King made no sign of opposition. He was known to be

A, the King.
B, his chair of state.
C, the Queen.
D, Prince Charles.
E, the Earl of Arundel Lord High Steward).
F, the Lord Keeper.
G, the Marquis of Winchester.
H, the Lord High Chamberlain.
I, the Chamberlain of the King's household.
K, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench.
L, Privy Councillors.
M, the Master of the Rolls.
N, Judges and Barons of the Exchequer.

O, the Master of Chancery.
P, Earls.
Q, Viscounts.
R, Barons.
S, Members of the House of Commons.
T, clerks.
V, Strafford.
W, the Lieutenant of the Tower.
X, the Plaintiffs.
Y, the deputy's Council and officers.
Z, the Countess of Arundel.
+, sons of peers.

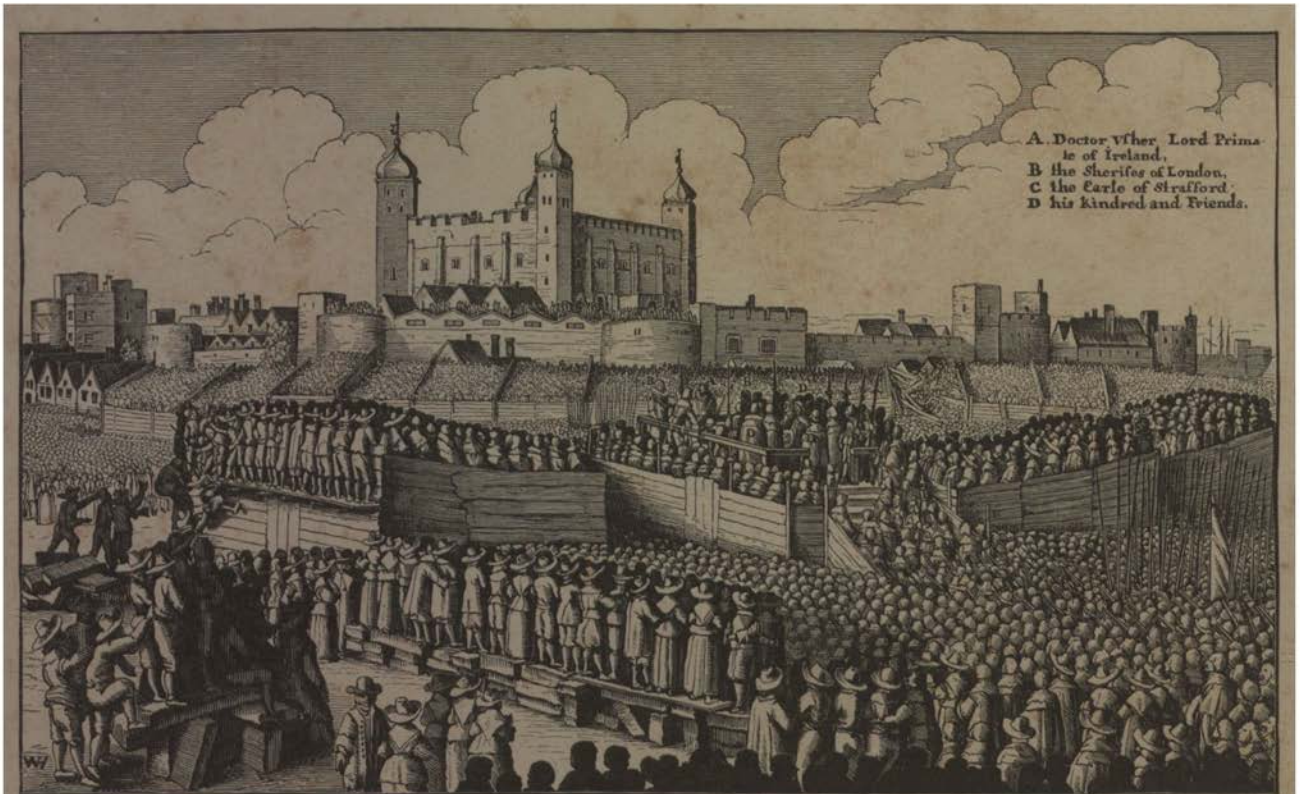
TRIAL OF STRAFFORD.
After W. Hollar.

resolute against the abolition of Episcopacy; but he announced no purpose of resisting the expulsion of the bishops from the Peers. Strafford's life he was determined to save; but he threw no obstacle in the way of his impeachment. The trial of the Earl began in Westminster Hall, and the whole of the House of Commons appeared to support it. The passion which the cause excited was seen in the loud cries of sympathy or hatred which burst from the crowded benches on either side. For fifteen days Strafford struggled with a remarkable courage and ingenuity against the list of charges, and melted his audience to tears by the pathos of his defence. But the trial was suddenly interrupted. Though tyranny and misgovernment had been conclusively proved against him, the technical proof of treason was weak. "The law of England," to use Hallam's words, "is silent as to conspiracies against itself," and treason by the Statute of Edward the Third was restricted to a levying of war against the King or a compassing of his death. The Commons endeavoured to strengthen their case by bringing forward the notes of a meeting of a Committee of the Commons in which Strafford had urged the use of his Irish troops "to reduce this kingdom;" but the Lords would only admit the evidence on condition of wholly reopening the case. Pym and Hampden remained convinced of the sufficiency of the impeachment; but the Commons broke loose from their control, and, guided by St. John and Henry Marten, resolved to abandon these judicial proceedings, and fall back on the resource of a Bill of Attainder. Their course has been bitterly censured by some whose opinion in such a matter is entitled to respect. But the crime of Strafford was none the less a crime that it did not fall within the scope of the Statute of Treasons. It is impossible indeed to provide for some of the greatest dangers which can happen to national freedom by any formal statute. Even now a minister might avail himself of the temper of a Parliament elected in some moment of popular panic, and, though the nation returned to its senses, might simply by refusing to appeal to the country govern in defiance of its will. Such a course would be technically legal, but such a minister would be none the less a criminal. Strafford's course, whether it fell within the Statute of Treasons or no, was from beginning to end an attack on the freedom of the whole nation. In the last

The Death of Strafford

Mar. 22 The Trial

Bill of Attainder



EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD.
After W. Hollar.

resort a nation retains the right of self-defence, and the Bill of Attainder is the assertion of such a right for the punishment of a public enemy who falls within the scope of no written law. To save Strafford and Episcopacy Charles seemed to assent to a proposal for entrusting the offices of State to the leaders of the Parliament, with the Earl of Bedford as Lord Treasurer; the only conditions he made were that Episcopacy should not be abolished nor Strafford executed. But the negotiations were interrupted by Bedford's death, and by the discovery that Charles had been listening all the while to counsellors who proposed to bring about his end by stirring the army to march on London, seize the Tower, free Strafford, and deliver the King from his thraldom to Parliament. The discovery of the Army Plot sealed Strafford's fate. The Londoners were roused to frenzy, and as the Peers gathered at Westminster crowds surrounded the House with cries of "Justice." On May 8 the Lords passed the Bill of Attainder. The Earl's one hope was in the King, but two days later the royal assent was given, and he passed to his doom. Strafford died as he had lived. His friends warned him of the vast multitude gathered before the Tower to witness his fall. "I know how to look death in the face, and the people too," he answered proudly. "I thank God I am no more afraid of death, but as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed." As the axe fell, the silence of the great multitude was broken by a universal shout of joy. The streets blazed with bonfires. The bells clashed out from every steeple. "Many," says an observer, "that came to town to see the execution rode in triumph back, waving their hats, and with all expressions of joy through every town they went, crying, 'His head is off! His head is off!'"

The Army Plot

May 12

The failure of the attempt to establish a Parliamentary ministry, the discovery of the Army Plot, the execution of Strafford, were the turning points in the history of the Long Parliament. Till May there was still hope for an accommodation between the Commons and the Crown by which the freedom that had been won might have been taken as the base of a new system of government. But from that hour little hope of such an agreement remained. On the one hand, the air, since the army conspiracy, was full of rumours and panic; the creak of a few boards revived the memory

The Grand Remonstrance

The Panic

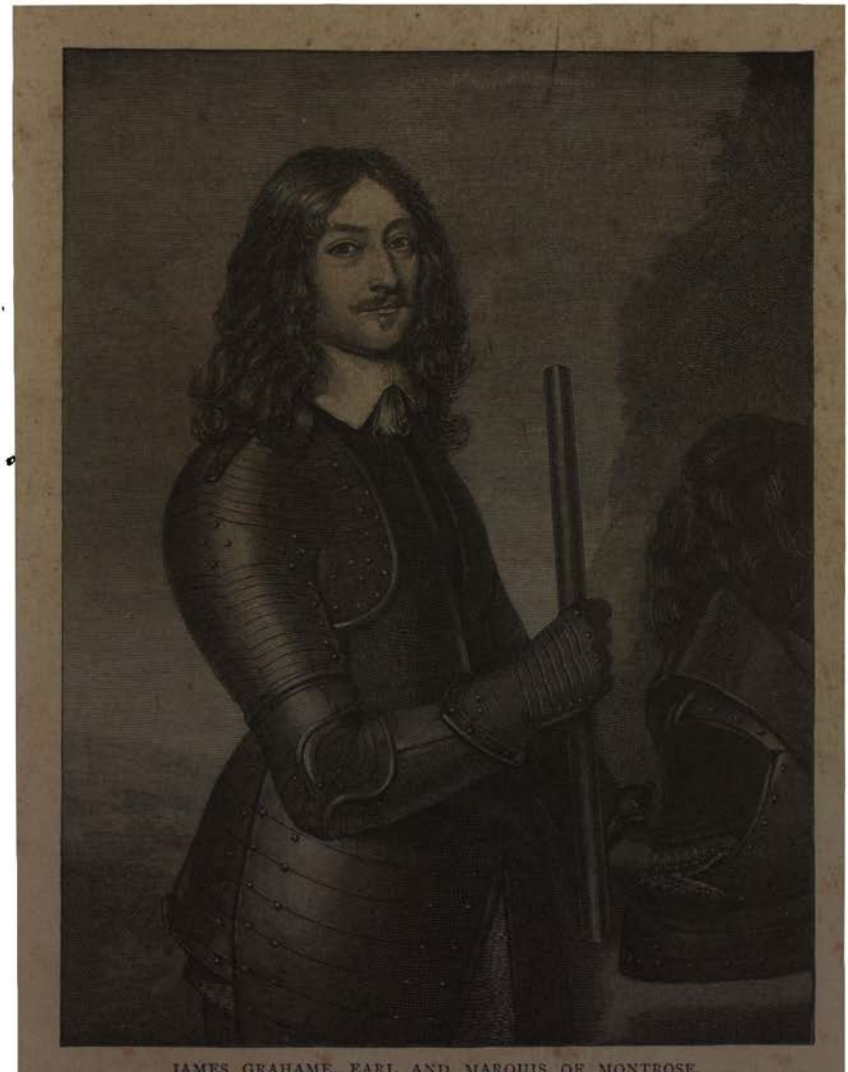
SEC. VI
THE LONG PARLIAMENT 1640 TO 1642

of the Gunpowder Plot, and the members rushed out of the House of Commons in the full belief that it was undermined. On the other hand, Charles regarded his consent to the new measures as having been extorted by force, and to be retracted at the first opportunity. Both Houses, in their terror, swore to defend the Protestant religion and the public liberties, an oath which was subsequently exacted from every one engaged in civil employment, and voluntarily taken by the great mass of the people. The same terror of a counter-revolution induced Hyde and the "moderate men" in the Commons to agree to a bill providing that the present Parliament should not be dissolved but by its own consent. Of all the demands of the Parliament this was the first that could be called distinctly revolutionary. To consent to it was to establish a power permanently co-ordinate with the Crown. Charles signed the bill without protest, but he was already planning the means of breaking the Parliament. Hitherto, the Scotch army had held him down, but its payment and withdrawal could no longer be delayed, and a pacification was arranged between the two countries. The Houses hastened to complete their task of reform. The irregular jurisdictions of the Council of the North and the Court of the Marches of Wales had been swept away; and the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, the last of the extraordinary courts which had been the support of the Tudor monarchy, were now summarily abolished. The work was pushed hastily on, for haste was needed. The two armies had been disbanded; and the Scots were no sooner on their way homeward than the King resolved to bring them back. In spite of prayers from the Parliament he left London for Edinburgh, yielded to every demand of the Assembly and the Scotch Estates, attended the Presbyterian worship, lavished titles and favours on the Earl of Argyle and the patriot leaders, and gained for a few months a popularity which spread dismay in the English Parliament. Their dread of his designs was increased when he was found to have been intriguing all the while with the Earl of Montrose—who had seceded from the patriot party before his coming, and been rewarded for his secession with imprisonment in the castle of Edinburgh—and when Hamilton and Argyle withdrew suddenly from the capital, and charged the King with a treacherous

Abolition of the Star Chamber

Charles in Scotland

plot to seize and carry them out of the realm. The fright was fanned to frenzy by news which came suddenly from Ireland,



JAMES GRAHAME, EARL AND MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.
From an engraving by Faed of a picture by Honthorst.

where the fall of Strafford had put an end to all semblance of rule. The disbanded soldiers of the army he had raised spread over the country, and stirred the smouldering disaffection into a flame. A

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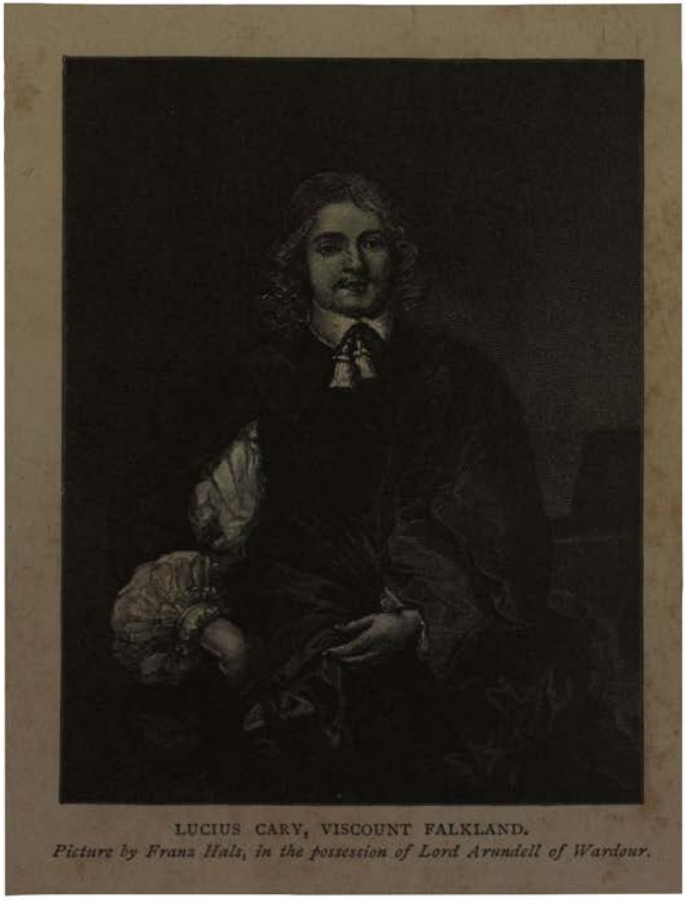
1640 TO 1642

The Irish Rising
Oct. 1641

conspiracy, organised with wonderful power and secrecy, burst forth in Ulster, where the confiscation of the Settlement had never been forgiven, and spread like wildfire over the centre and west of the island. Dublin was saved by a mere chance; but in the open country the work of murder went on unchecked. Thousands of English people perished in a few days, and rumour doubled and trebled the number. Tales of horror and outrage, such as maddened our own England when they reached us from Cawnpore, came day after day over the Irish Channel. Sworn depositions told how husbands were cut to pieces in presence of their wives, their children's brains dashed out before their faces, their daughters brutally violated and driven out naked to perish frozen in the woods. "Some," says May, "were burned on set purpose, others drowned for sport or pastime, and if they swam kept from landing with poles, or shot, or murdered in the water; many were buried quick, and some set into the earth breast-high and there left to famish." Much of all this was the wild exaggeration of panic. But the revolt was unlike any earlier rising in its religious character. It was no longer a struggle, as of old, of Celt against Saxon, but of Catholic against Protestant. The Papists within the Pale joined hands in it with the wild kernes outside the Pale. The rebels called themselves "Confederate Catholics," resolved to defend "the public and free exercise of the true and Catholic Roman religion." The panic waxed greater when it was found that they claimed to be acting by the King's commission, and in aid of his authority. They professed to stand by Charles and his heirs against all that should "directly and indirectly endeavour to suppress their royal prerogatives." They showed a Commission, purporting to have been issued by royal command at Edinburgh, and styled themselves "the King's army." The Commission was a forgery, but belief in it was quickened by the want of all sympathy with the national honour which Charles displayed. To him the revolt seemed a useful check on his opponents. "I hope," he wrote coolly, when the news reached him, "this ill news of Ireland may hinder some of these follies in England." Above all, it would necessitate the raising of an army, and with an army at his command he would again be the master of the Parliament. The Parliament, on the other hand, saw in the Irish revolt the dis-

The new Royalists

closure of a vast scheme for a counter-revolution, of which the withdrawal of the Scotch army, the reconciliation of Scotland, the intrigues at Edinburgh, were all parts. Its terror was quickened into panic by the exultation of the royalists at the King's return, and by the appearance of a royalist party in the Parliament itself. The new party had been silently organized by Hyde, the future



LUCIUS CARY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND.
Picture by Franz Hals, in the possession of Lord Arundell of Wardour.

Lord Clarendon. With him stood Lord Falkland, a man learned and accomplished, the centre of a circle which embraced the most liberal thinkers of his day, a keen reasoner and able speaker, whose intense desire for liberty of religious thought, which he now saw threatened by the dogmatism of the time, estranged him from Parliament, while his dread of a conflict with the Crown, his

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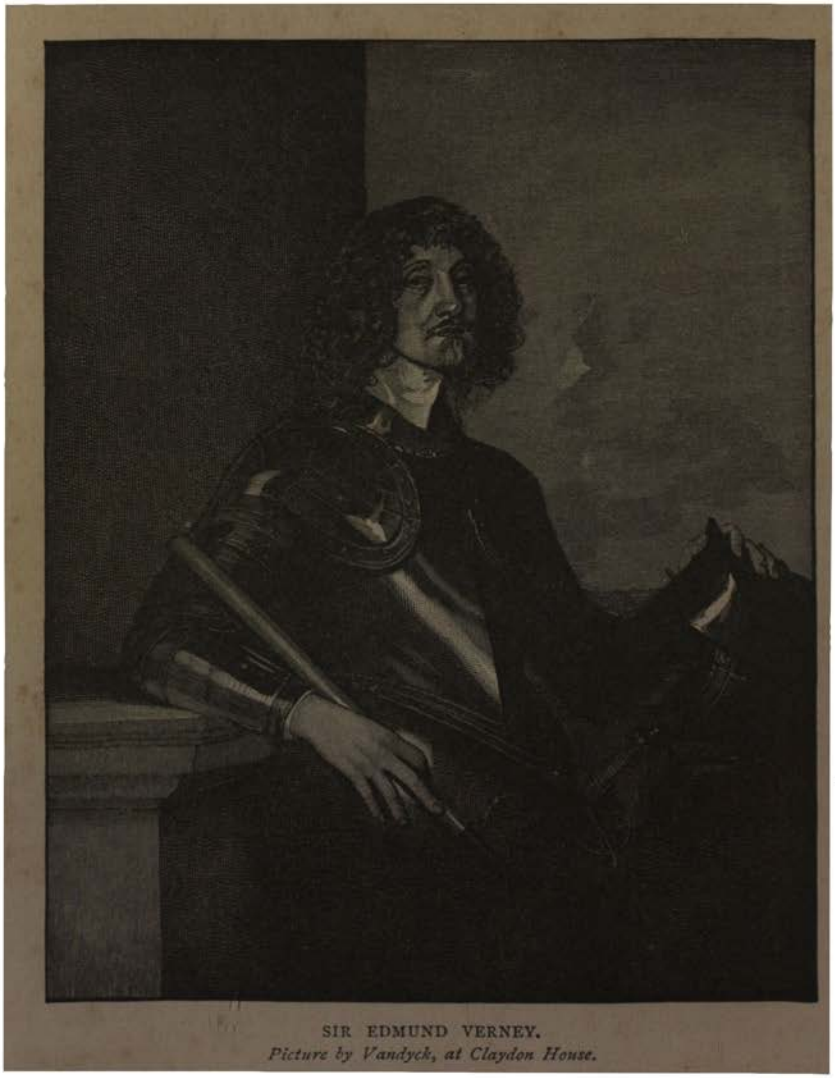
passionate longing for peace, his sympathy for the fallen, led him to struggle for a King whom he distrusted, and to die in a cause that was not his own. Behind Falkland and Hyde soon gathered



SIR EDMUND VERNEY.
Picture by Vandyck, at Claydon House.

a strong force of supporters; chivalrous soldiers like Sir Edmund Verney ("I have eaten the King's bread and served him now thirty years, and I will not do so base a thing as to desert him"), as well

as men frightened by the rapid march of change or by the dangers which threatened Episcopacy and the Church, the partizans of the Court, and the time-servers who looked forward to a new triumph of the Crown. With a broken Parliament, and perils gathering without, Pym resolved to appeal for aid to the nation itself. The Grand Remonstrance which he laid before the House was a detailed narrative of the work which the Parliament had done, the difficulties it had surmounted, and the new dangers which lay in its path. The Parliament had been charged with a design to abolish Episcopacy, it declared its purpose to be simply that of reducing the power of bishops. Politically it repudiated the taunt of revolutionary aims. It demanded only the observance of the existing laws against recusancy, securities for the due administration of justice, and the employment of ministers who possessed the confidence of Parliament. The new King's party fought fiercely, debate followed debate, the sittings were prolonged till lights had to be brought in; and it was only at midnight, and by a majority of eleven, that the Remonstrance was finally adopted. On an attempt of the minority to offer a formal protest against a subsequent vote for its publication the slumbering passion broke out into a flame. "Some waved their hats over their heads, and others took their swords in their scabbards out of their belts, and held them by the pommels in their hands, setting the lower part on the ground." Only Hampden's coolness and tact averted a conflict. The Remonstrance was felt on both sides to be a crisis in the struggle. "Had it been rejected," said Cromwell, as he left the House, "I would have sold to-morrow all I possess, and left England for ever." Listened to sullenly by the King, it kindled afresh the spirit of the country. London swore to live and die with the Parliament; associations were formed in every county for the defence of the Houses; and when the guard which the Commons had asked for in the panic of the Army Plot was withdrawn by the King, the populace crowded down to Westminster to take its place.

The Grand Remonstrance *Nov.* 1641

The question which had above all broken the unity of the Parliament had been the question of the Church. All were agreed on the necessity of reform, and one of the first acts of the Parliament had been to appoint a Committee of Religion to consider the question. The bulk of the Commons as of the Lords were at first

Arrest of the Five Members

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Church reform

against any radical changes in the constitution or doctrines of the Church. But within as without the House the general opinion was in favour of a reduction of the power and wealth of the prelates, as well as of the jurisdiction of the Church Courts. Even among the bishops themselves, the more prominent saw the need for consenting to the abolition of Chapters and Bishops' Courts, as well as to

"THE CARELESS NON-RESIDENT."
Tract, "Remonstrance against Non-Residents," 1642.

the election of a council of ministers in each diocese, which had been suggested by Archbishop Usher as a check on episcopal autocracy. A scheme to this effect was drawn up by Bishop Williams of Lincoln ; but it was far from meeting the wishes of the general body of the Commons. Pym and Lord Falkland demanded, in addition to these changes, a severance of the clergy from all secular or state offices, and an expulsion of the bishops from the

House of Lords. Such a measure seemed needed to restore the independence of the Peers; for the number and servility of the bishops were commonly strong enough to prevent any opposition to the Crown. There was, however, a growing party which pressed for the abolition of Episcopacy altogether. The doctrines of Cartwright had risen into popularity under the persecution of Laud, and Presbyterianism was now a formidable force among the middle classes. Its chief strength lay in the eastern counties and in

THE PROCTOR AND PARATOR.
Title-page of a Tract on the abuses and exorbitances of the Spiritual Courts, 1641.

London, where a few ministers such as Calamy and Marshall had formed a committee for its diffusion; while in Parliament it was represented by Lord Mandeville and some others. In the Commons Sir Harry Vane represented a more extreme party of reformers, the Independents of the future, whose sentiments were little less hostile to Presbyterianism than to Episcopacy, but who acted with the Presbyterians for the present, and formed a part of what became known as the "root and branch party," from its demand for the extirpation of prelacy. The attitude of Scotland

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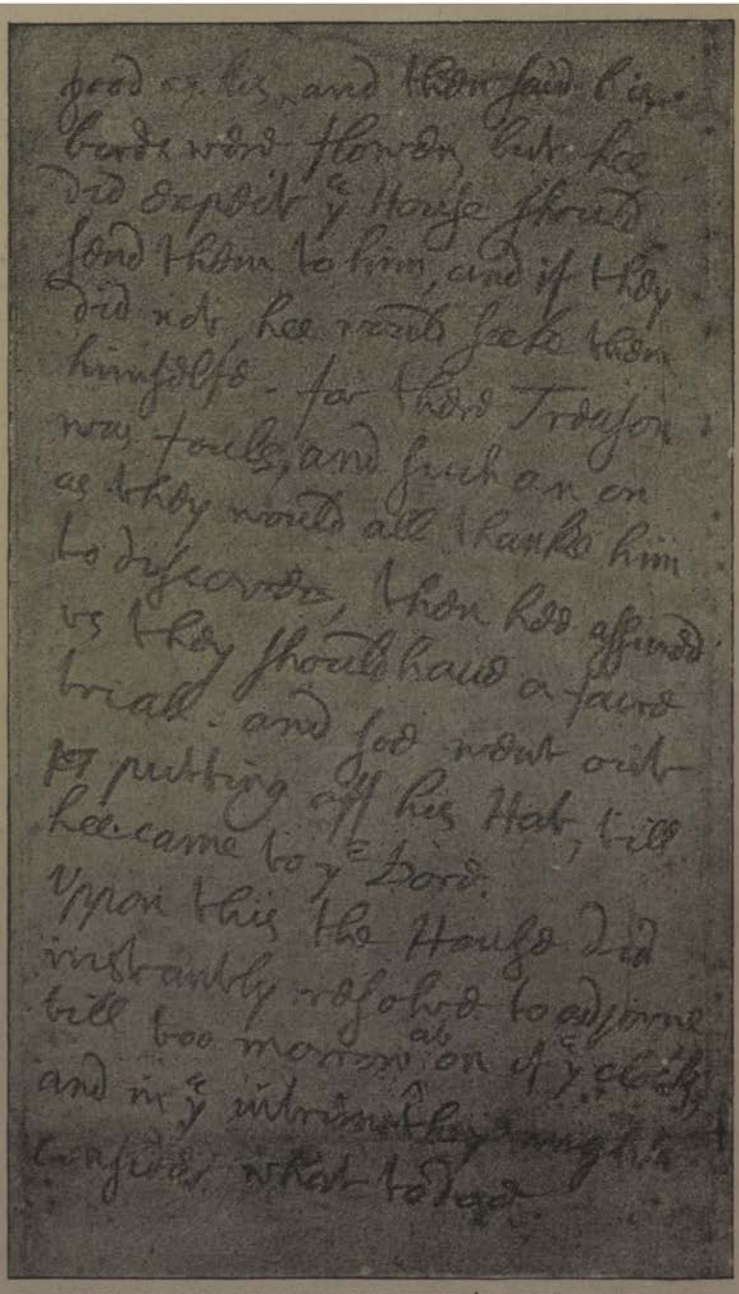
in the great struggle against tyranny, and the political advantages of a religious union between the two kingdoms, as well as the desire to knit the English Church more closely to the general body of Protestantism, gave force to the Presbyterian party. Milton, who after the composition of his "Lycidas" had spent a year in foreign travel, returned to throw himself on this ground into the theological strife. He held it "an unjust thing that the English should differ from all Churches as many as be reformed." In spite of this pressure, however, and of a Presbyterian petition from London with fifteen thousand signatures to the same purport, the Committee of Religion reported in favour of the moderate reforms proposed by Falkland and Pym; and a bill for the removal of bishops from the House of Peers passed the Commons almost unanimously. Rejected by the Lords on the eve of the King's journey to Scotland, it was again introduced on his return. Pym and his colleagues, anxious to close the disunion in their ranks, sought to end the pressure of the Presbyterian zealots, and the dread of the Church party, by taking their stand on the compromise suggested by the Committee of Religion in the spring. But in spite of violent remonstrances from the Commons the bill still hung fire among the Peers. The delay roused the excited crowd of Londoners who gathered round Whitehall; the bishops' carriages were stopped, and the prelates themselves rabbled on their way to the House. The angry pride of Williams induced ten of his fellow bishops to declare themselves prevented from attendance in Parliament, and to protest against all acts done in their absence as null and void. The protest was met at once on the part of the Peers by the committal of the prelates who had signed it to the Tower. But the contest gave a powerful aid to the projects of the King. The courtiers declared openly that the rabbling of the bishops proved that there "was no free Parliament," and strove to bring about fresh outrages by gathering troops of officers and soldiers of fortune, who were seeking for employment in the Irish war, and pitting them against the crowds at Whitehall. The brawls of the two parties, who gave each other the nicknames of "Roundheads" and "Cavaliers," created fresh alarm in the Parliament; but Charles persisted in refusing it a guard. "On the honour of a King," he engaged to defend them from violence as

Cavaliers and Roundheads

WILLIAM LENTHALL, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

From a copy by Thomas Athow (in Sutherland collection, Bodleian Library) of a picture formerly at Burford Priory.

completely as his own children, but the answer had hardly been given when his Attorney appeared at the bar of the Lords, and accused Hampden, Pym, Hollis, Strode, and Haselrig of high treason in their correspondence with the Scots. A herald-at-arms appeared at the bar of the Commons, and demanded the surrender of the five members. If Charles believed himself to be within legal forms, the Commons saw a mere act of arbitrary violence in a charge which proceeded personally from the King, which set aside the most cherished privileges of Parliament, and summoned the accused before a tribunal which had no pretence to a jurisdiction over them. The Commons simply promised to take the demand into consideration, and again requested a guard. "I will reply to-morrow," said the King. On the morrow he summoned the *Jan. 4, 1642* gentlemen who clustered round Whitehall to follow him, and, embracing the Queen, promised her that in an hour he would return master of his kingdom. A mob of Cavaliers joined him as he left the palace, and remained in Westminster Hall as Charles, accompanied by his nephew, the Elector-Palatine, entered the House of Commons. "Mr. Speaker," he said, "I must for a time borrow your chair!" He paused with a sudden confusion as his eye fell on the vacant spot where Pym commonly sate: for at the news of his approach the House had ordered the five members to withdraw. "Gentlemen," he began in slow broken sentences, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a Sergeant-at-arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message." Treason, he went on, had no privilege, "and therefore I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are here." There was a dead silence, only broken by his reiterated "I must have them wheresoever I find them." He again paused, but the stillness was unbroken. Then he called out, "Is Mr. Pym here?" There was no answer; and Charles, turning to the Speaker, asked him whether the five members were there. Lenthall fell on his knees; "I have neither eyes to see," he replied, "nor tongue to speak in this place, but as this House is pleased to direct me." "Well, well," Charles angrily retorted, "'tis no matter. I think my eyes are as good as another's!" There was another long pause, while he looked care-



FACSIMILE OF PART OF SIR RALPH VERNEY'S NOTES OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

"Memoirs of the Verney Family."

fully over the ranks of members. "I see," he said at last, "all the birds are flown. I do expect you will send them to me as soon as they return hither." If they did not, he added, he would seek them himself; and with a closing protest that he never intended any force, "he went out of the House," says an eye-witness, "in a more discontented and angry passion than he came in."

The Eve of the War

Nothing but the absence of the five members, and the calm dignity of the Commons, had prevented the King's outrage from ending in bloodshed. "It was believed," says Whitelock, who was present at the scene "that if the King had found them there, and called in his guards to have seized them, the members of the House would have endeavoured the defence of them, which might have proved a very unhappy and sad business." Five hundred gentlemen of the best blood in England would hardly have stood tamely by while the bravoes of Whitehall laid hands on their leaders in the midst of the Parliament. But Charles was blind to the danger of his course. The five members had taken refuge in the city, and it was there that on the next day the King himself demanded their surrender from the aldermen at Guildhall. Cries of "Privilege" rang round him as he returned

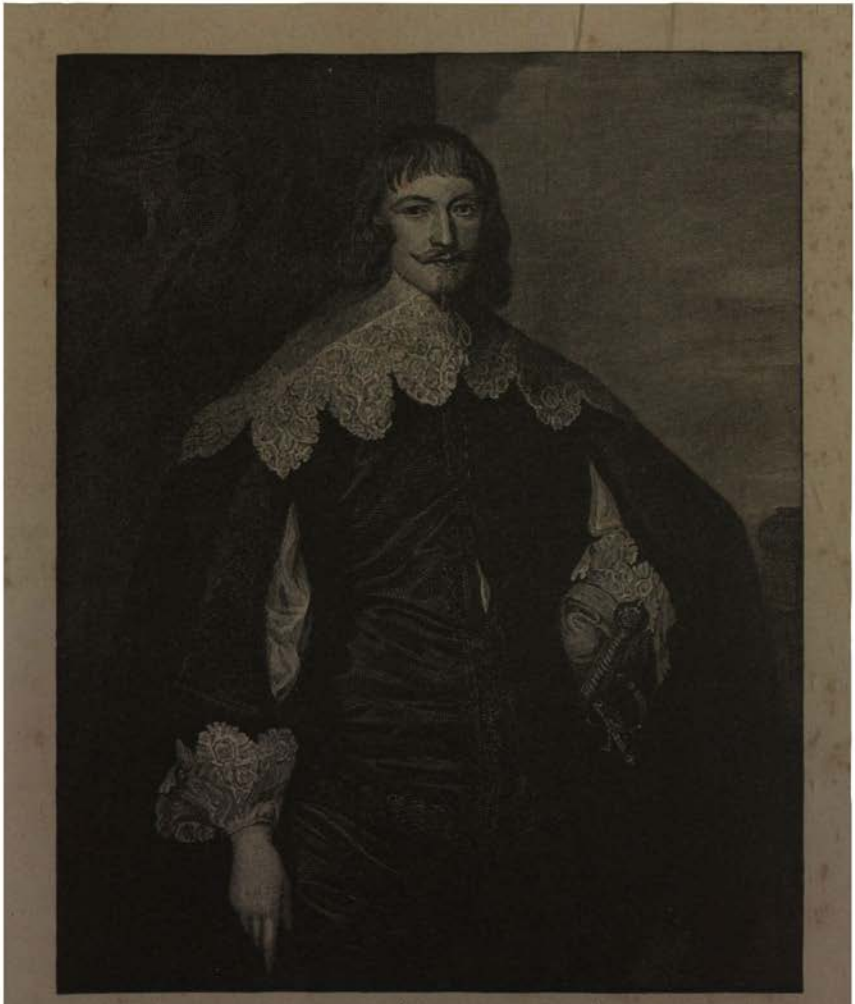
AN ENGLISH ARCHER.
Gervase Markham, "Art of Archerie," 1634.

SEC. VI
THE LONG PARLIAMENT 1640 TO 1642

through the streets: the writs issued for the arrest of the five were disregarded by the Sheriffs, and a proclamation issued four days later, declaring them traitors, passed without notice. Terror drove the Cavaliers from Whitehall, and Charles stood absolutely alone; for the outrage had severed him for the moment from his new friends in the Parliament, and from the ministers, Falkland and Colepepper, whom he had chosen among them. But lonely as he was, Charles had resolved on war. The Earl of Newcastle was despatched to muster a royal force in the north; and on the tenth of January news that the five members were about to return in triumph to Westminster drove Charles from Whitehall. He retired to Hampton Court and to Windsor, while the Trained Bands of London and Southwark on foot, and the London watermen on the river, all sworn "to guard the Parliament, the Kingdom, and the King," escorted Pym and his fellow-members along the Thames to the House of Commons. Both sides prepared for the coming struggle. The Queen sailed from Dover with the Crown jewels to buy munitions of war. The Cavaliers again gathered round the King, and the royalist press flooded the country with State papers drawn up by Hyde. On the other hand, the Commons resolved by vote to secure the great arsenals of the kingdom, Hull, Portsmouth and the Tower; while mounted processions of freeholders from Buckinghamshire and Kent traversed London on their way to St. Stephen's, vowing to live and die with the Parliament. The Lords were scared out of their policy of obstruction by Pym's bold announcement of the new position taken by the House of Commons. "The Commons," said their leader, "will be glad to have your concurrence and help in saving the kingdom; but if they fail of it, it should not discourage them in doing their duty. And whether the kingdom be lost or saved, they shall be sorry that the story of this present Parliament should tell posterity that in so great a danger and extremity the House of Commons should be enforced to save the kingdom alone." The effect of Pym's words was seen in the passing of the bill for excluding bishops from the House of Lords. The great point, however, was to secure armed support from the nation at large, and here both sides were in a difficulty. Previous to the innovations introduced by the Tudors, and which had been already

Preparations for War

questioned by the Commons in a debate on pressing soldiers, the King in himself had no power of calling on his subjects generally



WILLIAM CAVENDISH, EARL (AFTERWARDS DUKE) OF NEWCASTLE.
From an engraving by Holl of a picture by Vandyck, in the collection of Earl Spencer.

to bear arms, save for purposes of restoring order or meeting foreign invasion. On the other hand, no one contended that such a power had ever been exercised by the two Houses without the

Sec. VI

The Long Parliament 1640 to 1642

King; and Charles steadily refused to consent to a Militia bill, in which the command of the national force was given in every county to men devoted to the Parliamentary cause. Both parties

MILITIAMEN.
Temp. Charles I.
Title-page of a Tract.

therefore broke through constitutional precedent, the Parliament in appointing the Lord Lieutenants who commanded the Militia by ordinance of the two Houses, Charles in levying forces by royal commissions of array. The King's great difficulty lay in procuring

Outbreak of War

arms, and on the twenty-third of April he suddenly appeared before Hull, the magazine of the north, and demanded admission. The new governor, Sir John Hotham, fell on his knees, but refused to open the gates: and the avowal of his act by the Parliament was followed by the withdrawal of the royalist party among its members from their seats at Westminster. Falkland, Colepepper and Hyde, with thirty-two peers and sixty members of the House of Commons, joined Charles at York; and Lyttelton, the Lord Keeper, followed with the Great Seal. They aimed at putting a check on the King's projects of war, and their efforts were backed by the general opposition of the country. A great meeting of the Yorkshire freeholders which he convened on Heyworth Moor ended in

May 1642

MEDAL TO COMMEMORATE THE DEATH OF SIR JOHN HOTHAM.
Made by Thomas Simon, the great medallist, who worked for the Parliamentary party.
Unique medal, in the British Museum.

a petition praying him to be reconciled to the Parliament, and in spite of gifts of plate from the Universities and nobles of his party, arms and money were still wanting for his new levies. The two Houses, on the other hand, gained in unity and vigour by the withdrawal of the royalists. The militia was rapidly enrolled, Lord Warwick named to the command of the fleet, and a loan opened in the city to which the women brought even their wedding rings. The tone of the two Houses had risen with the threat of force: and their last proposals demanded the powers of appointing and dismissing the royal ministers, naming guardians for the royal children, and of virtually con-

SEC. VI
THE LONG PARLIAMENT
1640 TO 1642

trolling military, civil, and religious affairs. "If I granted your demands," replied Charles, "I should be no more than the mere phantom of a king."

REVERSE OF SECOND GREAT SEAL OF CHARLES I., 1627—1640.

Section VII.—The Civil War. July 1642—Aug. 1646

[*Authorities.*—To those before given we may add Warburton's biography of Prince Rupert, Mr. Clements Markham's life of Fairfax, the Fairfax Correspondence, and Ludlow's "Memoirs." Sprigg's "Anglia Rediviva" gives an account of the New Model and its doings. For Cromwell, the primary authority is Mr. Carlyle's "Life and Letters," an invaluable store of documents, edited with the care of an antiquary and the genius of a poet. Clarendon, who now becomes of greater value, gives a good account of the Cornish rising.]

Edgehill

The breaking off of negotiations was followed on both sides by preparations for immediate war. Hampden, Pym, and Hollis became the guiding spirits of a Committee of Public Safety which was created by Parliament as its administrative organ; English and Scotch officers were drawn from the Low Countries, and Lord Essex named commander of an army, which soon rose to twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The confidence on the Parliamentary side was great; "we all thought one battle would decide," Baxter confessed after the first encounter; for the King was almost destitute of money and arms, and in spite of his strenuous efforts to raise recruits he was embarrassed by the reluctance of his own adherents to begin the struggle. Resolved, however, to force on a contest, he raised the Royal Standard at *Aug. 22* Nottingham "on the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day," but the country made no answer to his appeal; while Essex, who had quitted London amidst the shouts of a great multitude, with orders from the Parliament to follow the King, "and by battle or other way rescue him from his perfidious counsellors and restore him to Parliament," mustered his army at Northampton. Charles had but a handful of men, and the dash of a few regiments of horse would have ended the war; but Essex shrank from a decisive stroke, and trusted to reduce the King to submission by a show of force. As Charles fell back on Shrewsbury, Essex too moved westward and occupied Worcester. But the whole face of

Sec. VII
The Civil War 1642 to 1646

affairs suddenly changed. Catholics and royalists rallied fast to the King's standard, and a bold march on London drew Essex from Worcester to protect the capital. The two armies fell in with one another on the field of Edgehill, near Banbury. The

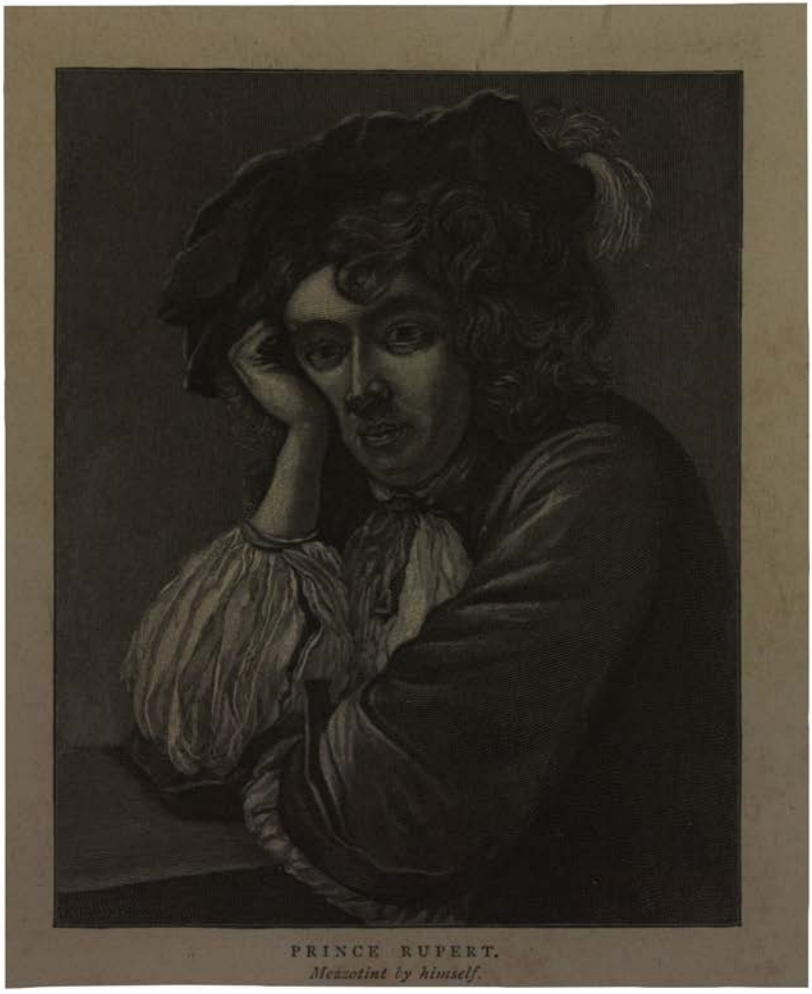
Oct. 23, 1642

ROBERT DEVEREUX EARLE OF ESSEX HIS EXCELLENCY. LORD GENERALL OF the Forces raised by the Authority of the Parliament for the defence of the King and Kingdom.

After W. Hollar.

encounter was a surprise, and the battle which followed was little more than a confused combat of horse. At its outset the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue with a whole regiment threw the Parliamentary forces into disorder, while the royalist horse on

either wing drove the cavalry of the enemy from the field; but the foot soldiers of Lord Essex broke the infantry which formed the centre of the King's line, and though his nephew, Prince Rupert, brought back his squadrons in time to save Charles from capture

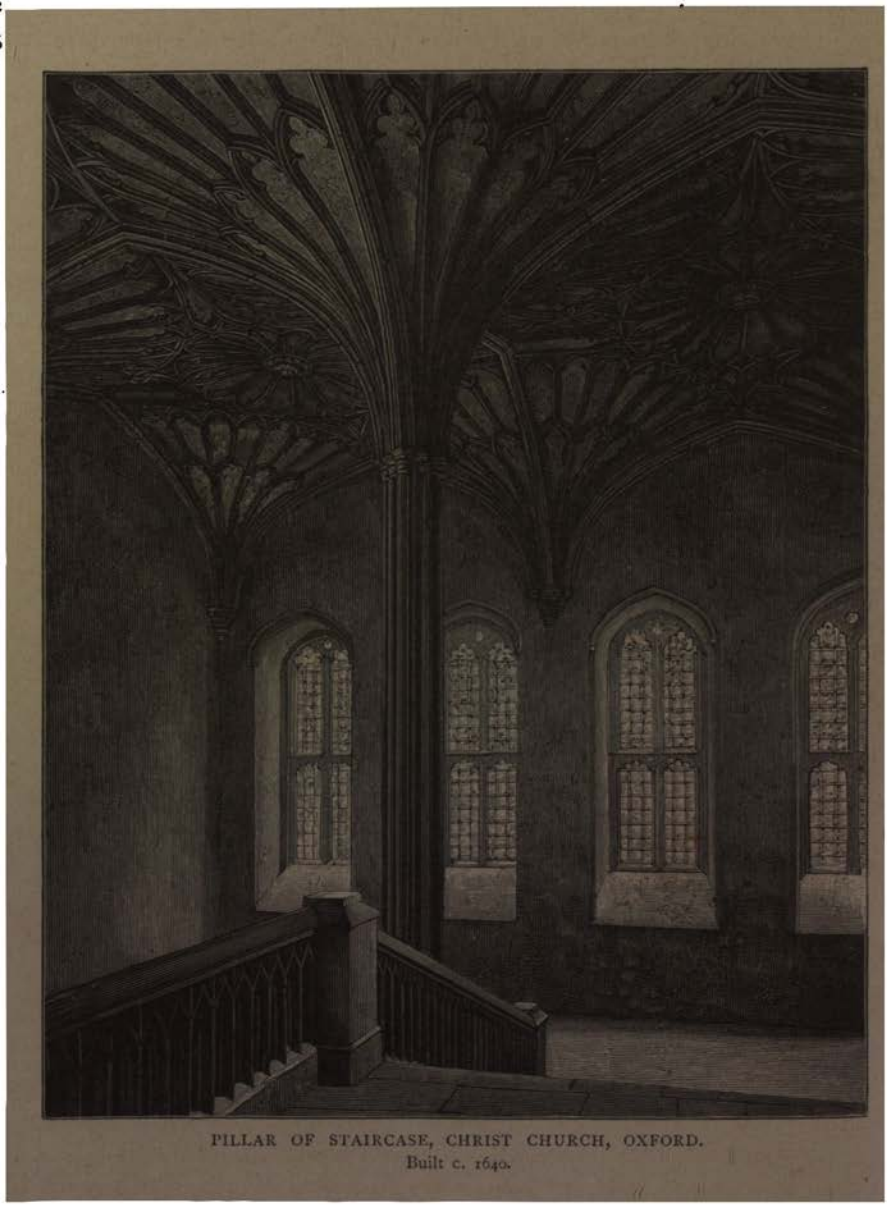


PRINCE RUPERT.
Mezzotint by himself.

or flight, the night fell on a drawn battle. The moral advantage however, rested with the King. Essex had learned that his troopers were no match for the Cavaliers, and his withdrawal to Warwick left open the road to the capital. Rupert pressed for

Sec. VII
The Civil War 1642 to 1646

an instant march on London, but the proposal found stubborn opponents among the moderate royalists, who dreaded the



PILLAR OF STAIRCASE, CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.
Built c. 1640.

Charles at Oxford

complete triumph of Charles as much as his defeat. The King therefore paused for the time at Oxford, where he was received

with uproarious welcome ; and when the cowardice of its garrison delivered Reading to Rupert's horse, and his daring capture of Brentford drew the royal army in his support almost to the walls of the capital, the panic of the Londoners was already over, and the junction of their trainbands with the army of Essex forced Charles to fall back again on his old quarters. But though the Parliament rallied quickly from the blow of Edgehill, the war, as its area widened through the winter, went steadily for the King. The fortification of Oxford gave him a firm hold on the midland counties ; while the balance of the two parties in the north was

£3 GOLD PIECE OF CHARLES I.
Coined at Oxford, 1643.

overthrown by the march of the Earl of Newcastle, with the force he had raised in Northumberland, upon York. Lord Fairfax, the Parliamentary leader in that county, was thrown back on the manufacturing towns of the West Riding, where Puritanism found its stronghold ; and the arrival of the Queen with arms from *Feb.* 1643 Holland encouraged the royal army to push its scouts across the Trent, and threaten the eastern counties, which held firmly for the Parliament. The stress of the war was shown by the vigorous exertions of the two Houses. Some negotiations which had gone on into the spring were broken off by the old demand that the King should return to his Parliament ; London was fortified ; and a tax of two millions a year was laid on the districts which adhered

SEC. VII
THE CIVIL WAR
1642 TO 1646

to the Parliamentary cause. Essex, whose army had been freshly equipped, was ordered to advance upon Oxford; but though the King held himself ready to fall back on the west, the Earl shrank from again risking his raw army in an encounter. He confined himself to the recapture of Reading, and to a month of idle encampment round Brill.

The Cornish Rising

But while disease thinned his ranks and the royalists beat up his quarters the war went more and more for the King. The inaction of Essex enabled Charles to send a part of his small force at Oxford to strengthen a royalist rising in the west. Nowhere was the royal cause to take so brave or noble a form as among the Cornishmen. Cornwall stood apart from the general life of England: cut off from it not only by differences of blood and speech, but by the feudal tendencies of its people, who clung with a Celtic loyalty to their local chieftains, and suffered their fidelity to the Crown to determine their own. They had as yet done little more than keep the war out of their own county; but the march of a small Parliamentary force under Lord Stamford *May* 1643 upon Launceston forced them into action. A little band of Cornishmen gathered round the chivalrous Sir Bevil Greenvil, "so destitute of provisions that the best officers had but a biscuit a day," and with only a handful of powder for the whole force; but starving and outnumbered as they were, they scaled the steep rise of Stratton Hill, sword in hand, and drove Stamford back on Exeter, with a loss of two thousand men, his ordnance and baggage train. Sir Ralph Hopton, the best of the royalist generals, took the command of their army as it advanced into Somerset, and drew the stress of the war into the West. Essex despatched a picked force under Sir William Waller to check their advance; but Somerset was already lost ere he reached Bath, and the Cornishmen stormed his strong position on Lansdowne Hill in the teeth of his guns. But the stubborn fight robbed the victors of their leaders; Hopton was wounded, and Greenvil slain; while soon after, at the siege of Bristol, fell two other heroes of the little army, Sir Nicholas Slanning and Sir John Trevanion, "both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to Sir Bevil Greenvil." Waller, beaten as he *July* 1643 was, hung on their weakened force as it moved for aid upon

Oxford, and succeeded in cooping up the foot in Devizes. But the horse broke through, and joining a force which Charles had sent to their relief, turned back, and dashed Waller's army to pieces in a fresh victory on Roundway Down. The Cornish

SIR BEVIL GREENVIL.
Picture in the collection of Mr. Bernard Grenville.

rising seemed to decide the fortune of the war; and the succours which his Queen was bringing him from the army of the North determined Charles to make a fresh advance upon London. He was preparing for this advance, when Rupert in a daring raid from

SEC. VII
THE CIVIL WAR 1642 TO 1646

Oxford on the Parliamentary army, met a party of horse with Hampden at its head, on Chalgrove field. The skirmish ended in the success of the royalists, and Hampden was seen riding off the field before the action was done, "which he never used to do," with his head bending down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse. He was mortally wounded, and his death seemed an omen of the ruin of the cause

Death of Hampden

AN ENGLISH TRADESMAN'S WIFE AND CITIZEN'S DAUGHTER.
Hollar, "Aula Veneris," 1649.

he loved. Disaster followed disaster. Essex, more and more anxious for a peace, fell back on Uxbridge; while a cowardly surrender of Bristol to Prince Rupert gave Charles the second city of the kingdom, and the mastery of the West. The news fell on the Parliament "like a sentence of death." The Lords debated nothing but proposals of peace. London itself was divided; "a great multitude of the wives of substantial citizens" clamoured at the door of the Commons for peace; and a flight of six of

the few peers who remained at Westminster to the camp at Oxford proved the general despair of the Parliament's success.

The Covenant

From this moment, however, the firmness of the Parliamentary leaders began slowly to reverse the fortunes of the war. If Hampden was gone, Pym remained. The spirit of the Commons was worthy of their great leader : and Waller was received on his return from Roundway Hill " as if he had brought the King prisoner with him." A new army was placed under the command of Lord Manchester to check the progress of Newcastle in the North. But in the West the danger was greatest. Prince Maurice continued his brother Rupert's career of success, and his conquest of Barnstaple and Exeter secured Devon for the King. Gloucester alone interrupted the communications between his forces in Bristol and in the north ; and Charles moved against the city, with a hope of a speedy surrender. But the gallant resistance of the town called Essex to its relief. It was reduced to a single barrel of powder when the Earl's approach forced Charles to raise the siege ; and the Puritan army fell steadily back again on London, after an indecisive engagement near Newbury, in which Lord Falkland fell " ingeminating 'Peace, peace!' " and the London trainbands flung Rupert's horsemen roughly off their front of pikes. In this

Sept. 6

HIGHLAND DIRK.
Seventeenth Century.
Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.

posture of his affairs nothing but a great victory could have saved the King, for the day which witnessed the triumphant return of Essex witnessed the solemn taking of the Covenant. Pym had resolved at last to fling the Scotch sword into the wavering balance ; and in the darkest hour of the Parliament's cause Sir Harry Vane had been despatched to Edinburgh to arrange the terms on which the aid of Scotland would be given. First amongst them stood the demand of a " unity in Religion ; " an adoption, in

League with Scotland

Sec. VII
The Civil War 1642 to 1646

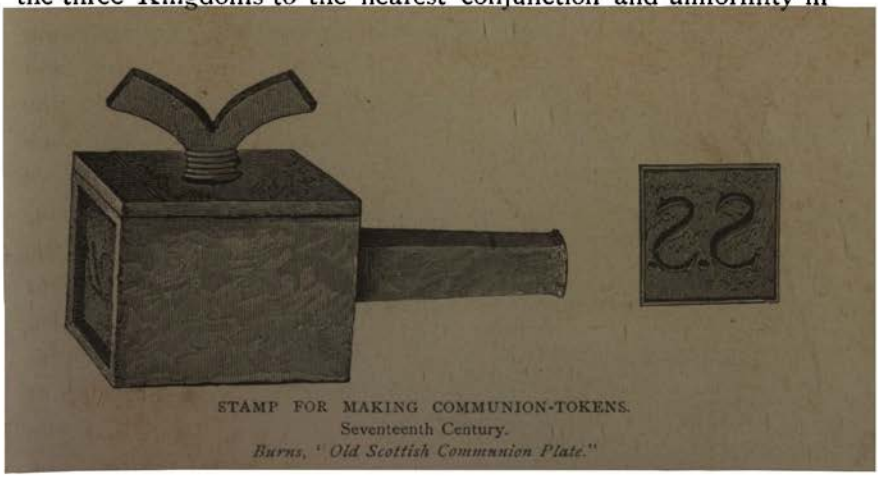
other words, of the Presbyterian system by the Church of England. Events had moved so rapidly since the earlier debates on Church government in the Commons that some arrangement of this kind had become a necessity. The bishops to a man, and the bulk of the clergy, whose bent was purely episcopal, had joined the royal cause, and were being expelled from their livings as "delinquents." Some new system of Church government was imperatively called for by the religious necessities of the country; and though Pym and the leading statesmen were still in opinion moderate Episcopalians, the growing force of Presbyterianism, and still more the needs of the war, forced them to seek such a system in the adoption of the Scotch discipline. Scotland, for its part, saw that the triumph of the Parliament was necessary for its own security; and whatever difficulties stood in the way of Vane's wary and rapid negotiations were removed by the policy of the King. While the Parliament looked for aid to the north, Charles had been seeking assistance from the Irish rebels. The massacre had left them the objects of a vengeful hate such as England had hardly known before, but with Charles they were simply counters in his game of king-craft. The conclusion of a truce with the Confederate Catholics left the army under Lord Ormond, which had hitherto held their revolt in check, at the King's disposal for service in England. With the promise of Catholic support Charles might even think himself strong enough to strike a blow

MOULD FOR MAKING COMMUNION-TOKENS.
Seventeenth Century.
Burns, "Old Scottish Communion Plate."

at the government in Edinburgh; and negotiations were soon opened with the Irish Catholics to support by their landing in Argyleshire a rising of the Highlanders under Montrose. None of the King's schemes proved so fatal to his cause as these. As the rumour of his intentions spread, officer after officer in his own army flung down their commissions, the peers who had fled to Oxford fled back again to London, and the royalist reaction in the Parliament itself came utterly to an end. Scotland, anxious for its own safety, hastened to sign the Covenant; and the Commons, "with uplifted hands," swore in St. Margaret's church to observe it. They pledged themselves to "bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in

Sept. 15

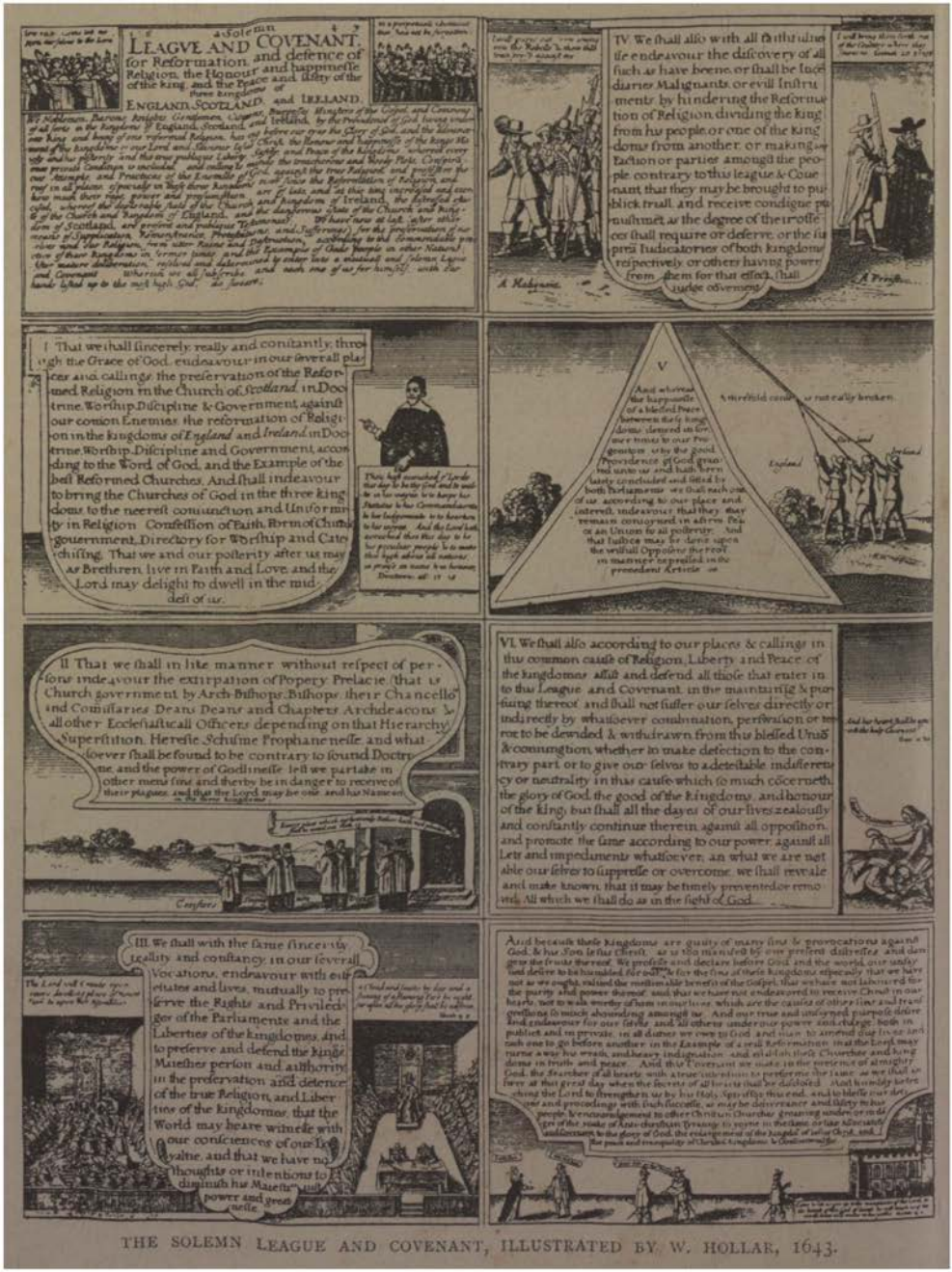
England swears to the Covenant



STAMP FOR MAKING COMMUNION-TOKENS.
Seventeenth Century.
Burns, "Old Scottish Communion Plate."

religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, direction for worship and catechizing; that we, and our posterity after us, may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to live in the midst of us": to extirpate Popery, prelacy, superstition, schism, and profaneness; to "preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliament, and the liberties of the Kingdom;" to punish malignants and opponents of reformation in Church and State; to "unite the two Kingdoms in a firm peace and union to all posterity." The Covenant ended with a solemn acknowledgement of national sin, and a vow of reformation. "Our true, unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves and all others under our power and charge, both in public and private, in

Sept. 25


A Solemn
LEAGUE AND COVENANT,
for Reformation, and defence of
Religion, the Honour and happinesse
of the King, and the Peace and
Safety of the
three Kingdoms of
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND.
IV. We shall also with all faithfulnes
endeavour the discovery of all
such as have beene, or shall be
incendiaries Malignants, or evill instru-
ments by hindering the Reformation
of Religion, dividing the King-
doms from another, or making
faction or parties amongst the peo-
ple contrary to this league & Cove-
nant, that they may be brought to pu-
blick triall, and receive condigne pu-
nishment, as the degree of their offe-
nces shall require or deserve, or the ju-
risdictories of both kingdoms
respectively or others having power
from them for that effect, shall
judge convenient.
A Malignant.
A Priest.
I That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, thro-
ugh the Grace of God, endeavour in our severall pla-
ces and callings, the preservation of the Refor-
med Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doc-
trine, Worship, Discipline & Government, against
our comon Enemies, the reformation of Religi-
on in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in Doc-
trine, Worship, Discipline and Government, accor-
ding to the Word of God, and the Example of the
best Reformed Churches. And shall indeavour
to bring the Churches of God in the three king-
doms to the neerest conjunction and Unifor-mi-
ty in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church
gouernment, Directory for Worship and Cate-
chising, That we and our posterity after us may
as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, and the
Lord may delight to dwell in the mid-
dest of us.
V
And whereas the happinesse
of a blessed Peace
between these king-
doms, denyed in for-
mer times to our Pre-
decessors, is by the good
providence of God grant-
ed unto us, and hath been
lately concluded and setled by
both Parliaments: we shall each one
of us, according to our place and
interest, indeavour that they may
remain conjoyned in a firm Peace
& an Union to all posterity. And
that Justice may be done upon
the wilfull Oppressors of the rest
in manner expressed in the
precedent Article.
England
Scotland
II That we shall in like manner without respect of per-
sons indeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacie, (that is
Church government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors
and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons &
all other Ecclesiasticall Officers depending on that Hierarchy)
Superstition, Heresie, Schisme, Prophanenesse, and what
soever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctri-
ne, and the power of Godlinesse (lest we partake in
other mens sins and thereby be in danger to receive of
their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one
in the three Kingdoms.
Confusion
VI. We shall also according to our places & callings in
this common cause of Religion, Liberty and Peace of
the kingdomes, assist and defend all those that enter in
to this League and Covenant, in the maintaining & pur-
suing thereof, and shall not suffer our selves directly or
indirectly by whatsoever combination, perswasion or ter-
ror to be devided & withdrawn from this blessed Unio
& conjunction, whether to make defection to the con-
trary part, or to give our selves to a detestable indifferen-
cy or neutrality in this cause which so much concerneth
the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour
of the King, but shall all the dayes of our lives zealously
and constantly continue therein, against all opposition,
and promote the same according to our power, against all
Lets and impediments whatsoever, and what we are not
able our selves to suppresse or overcome, we shall reveale
and make known, that it may be timely prevented or remo-
ved. All which we shall do as in the sight of God.
III. We shall with the same sincerity,
reality and constancy, in our severall
Vocations, endeavour with our
estates and lives, mutually to pre-
serve the Rights and Priviled-
ges of the Parliaments and the
Liberties of the kingdomes, and
to preserve and defend the Kings
Majesties person and authority,
in the preservation and defence
of the true Religion, and Liber-
ties of the Kingdomes, that the
World may heare witnesse with
our consciences of our loy-
altie, and that we have no
thoughts or intentions to
diminish his Majesties
power and great
And because these kingdomes are guilty of many sins & provocations against
God, & his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dan-
gers, the fruits thereof: We professe and declare before God, and the world, our unfey-
ned desire to be humbled for them, & for the sins of these kingdomes, especially that we have
not as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that we have not laboured for
the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavored to receive Christ in our
hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our callings, which are the causes of other sins and trans-
gressions so much abounding amongst us. And our true and unfeigned purpose, desire
and endeavour for our selves, and all others under our power and charge, both in
publick and in private, in all duties we owe to God, and man to amend our lives, and
each one to go before another in the Example of a reall Reformation, that the Lord may
turne away his wrath, and heavy indignation, and establish these Churches and king-
doms in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make in the sight of almighty
God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall an-
swer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. And kneeling before
the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our det-
ter and proceedings with such successe, as may be deliverance and safety to his
people, encouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under or in d-
ger of the yoake of Anti-christian tyranny to joyne in the same, or like Association
and Covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and
the peace and tranquility of Christian kingdoms & Commonwealths.

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, ILLUSTRATED BY W. HOLLAR, 1643.

all duties we owe to God and man, is to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation."

The conclusion of the Covenant had been the last work of Pym. A "Committee of the Two Kingdoms" which was entrusted after his death in December with the conduct of the war and of foreign affairs did their best to carry out the plans he had formed for the coming year. The vast scope of these plans bears witness to his amazing ability. Three strong armies, comprising a force of fifty thousand men, had been raised for the coming campaign. Essex, with the army of the centre, was charged with the duty of watching the king at Oxford. Waller, with another army, was to hold Prince Maurice in check in the west. The force of fourteen thousand men

MEDAL OF THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.
British Museum.

which had been raised by the zeal of the eastern counties, and in which Cromwell's name was becoming famous as a leader, was raised into a third army under Lord Manchester, ready to co-operate in Yorkshire with Sir Thomas Fairfax. With Alexander Leslie, Lord Leven, at its head, the Scotch army crossed the border in January "in a great frost and snow," and Newcastle was forced to hurry northward to arrest its march. His departure freed the hands of Fairfax, who threw himself on the English troops from Ireland that had landed at Chester, and after cutting them to pieces marched as rapidly back to storm Selby. The danger in his rear called back Newcastle, who returned from confronting the Scots at Durham to throw himself into York, where he was

Die Iovis. 23. Martii. 1643.

IT is this day Ordered by the Lords & Commons Assembled in Parliament, that no person or persons whatsoever, doe at any time from henceforth buy, sell, or take to pawn or exchange any Horse, Horses, Muskets, Carabines, Pistols, Pikes, Corslets or any other Armes, marked with the markes above specified, that no Smith, Gunsmith or other person doe upon any pretences whatsoever, either alter or deface the marke above specified, being either on Horse or Armes. It is Further Ordered, that in Case any Horse or Horses marked with this marke, shall fall sicke, Lame, or otherwise for the present prove unserviceable, That the Constable of the Towne at the charge of that Towne take care to preserve such Horses untill they can be sent unto such as shall be appointed to receive them: And that such as shall receive them shall defray the charges of them, And if any person or persons offend in the premisses, It is Ordered that hee or they shall suffer Imprisonment during the pleasure of the House, and to forfeit the goods so bought.

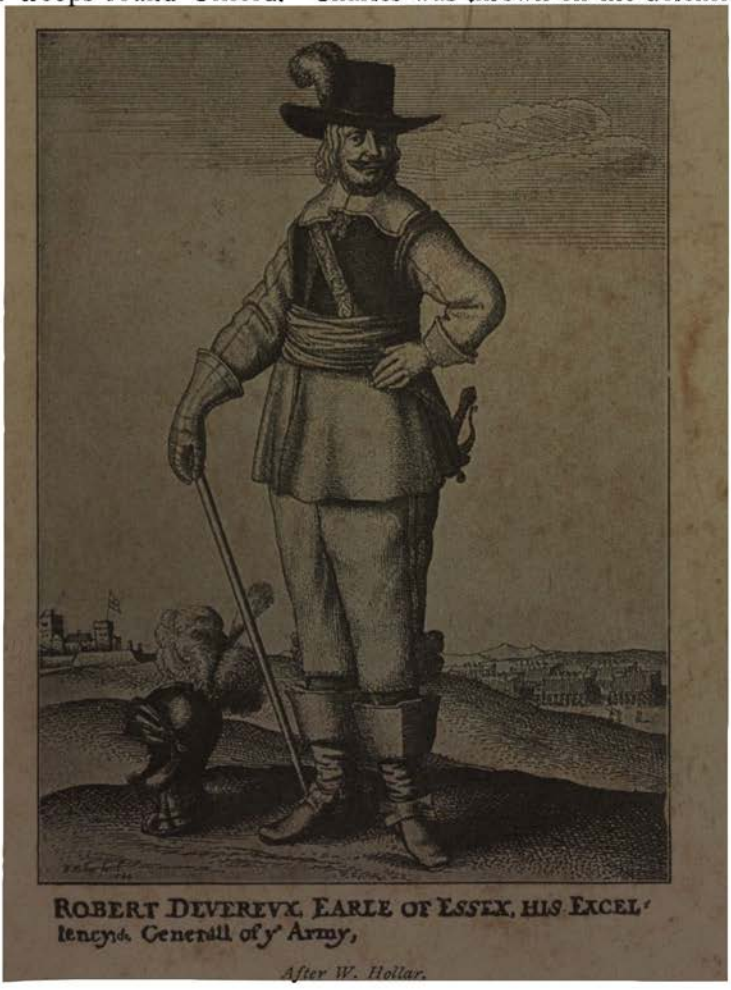
Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that this Order be forthwith Printed and published. *John Browne*, Cler. Parl.

London, Printed for *John Wright*, and are to be sold in the Old Baily. 1643.

ORDER OF LORDS AND COMMONS CONCERNING ARMS, 164$\frac{3}{4}$.

Collection of Miss Toulmin Smith.

besieged by Fairfax and by the Scotch army. The plans of Pym were now rapidly developed. While Manchester marched with the army of the Associated Counties to join the forces of Fairfax and Lord Leven under the walls of York, Waller and Essex gathered their troops round Oxford. Charles was thrown on the defensive.



The troops from Ireland on which he counted had been cut to pieces by Fairfax or by Waller, and in North and South he seemed utterly overmatched. But he was far from despairing. He had already answered Newcastle's cry for aid by despatching Prince Rupert from Oxford to gather forces on the Welsh border; and

OLIVER CROMWELL.
Picture by Walker, at Hinchinbrooke.

Marston Moor July 2, 1644.

the brilliant partizan, after breaking the sieges of Newark and Lathom House, burst over the Lancashire hills into Yorkshire, slipped by the Parliamentary army, and made his way untouched into York. But the success of this feat of arms tempted him to a fresh act of daring; he resolved on a decisive battle, and a discharge of musketry from the two armies as they faced each other on Marston Moor brought on, as evening gathered, a disorderly engagement. On the one flank a charge of the King's horse broke that of the enemy; on the other, Cromwell's brigade won as complete a success over Rupert's troopers. "God made them as stubble to our swords," wrote the general at the close of the day; but in the heat of victory he called back his men from the chase to back Manchester in his attack on the royalist foot, and to rout their other wing of horse as it returned breathless from pursuing the Scots. Nowhere had the fighting been so fierce. A young Puritan who lay dying on the field told Cromwell as he bent over him that one thing lay on his spirit. "I asked him what it was," Cromwell wrote afterwards. "He told me it was that God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of His enemies." At night-fall all was over; and the royalist cause in the north had perished at a blow. Newcastle fled over sea: York surrendered, and Rupert, with about six thousand horse at his back, rode southward to Oxford. The blow was the more terrible that it fell on Charles at a moment when his danger in the south was being changed into triumph by a series of brilliant and unexpected successes. After a month's siege the King had escaped from Oxford followed by Essex and Waller; had waited till Essex marched to attack Prince Maurice at Lyme; and then, turning fiercely on Waller at Cropredy Bridge, had driven him back broken to London, two days before the battle of Marston Moor. Charles followed up his success by hurrying in the track of Essex, whom he hoped to crush between his own force and that under Maurice. By a fatal error, Essex plunged into Cornwall, where the country was hostile, and where the King hemmed him in among the hills, drew his lines tightly round his army, and forced the whole body of the foot to surrender at his mercy, while the horse cut their way through the besiegers, and Essex himself fled by sea to London. The day of the surrender was signalized by a royalist triumph in Scotland

BATTLE OF

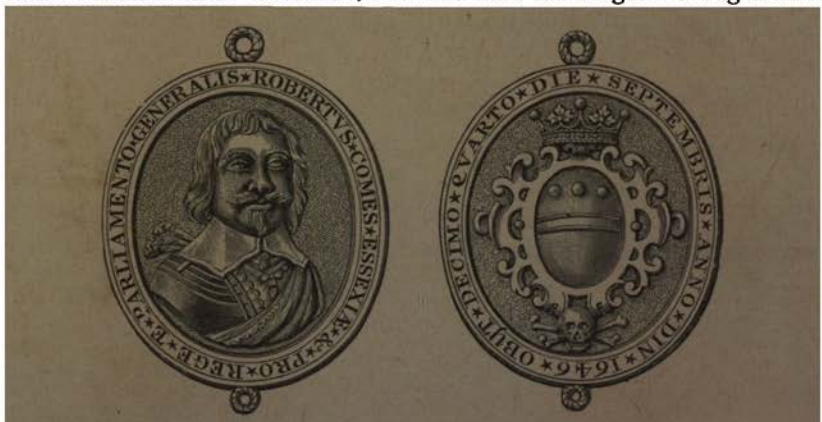
River Nidd
Willows
Skewkirk
Christy Tar Bunt
Moor End
Towns Houses
Briery Wood
Swale's Ho.
Wilstrop Wood
Lawn Wood
The Rookery Hole
Moor Lane
Old Sand Pits & Brushwood
Wilstrop Moor
Tockwith Moor
M A R S T
Kendal Lane
Foot Path
Sugar Hill Gate
White Syke Close
RUPERT
NEWCASTLE
BELLASIS
EYTHIN
TILYARD
GRANE
GRANDISON
East
O'NEIL
PORTER
Bye Hill
BYRON
Field
The Ditch
FRIZELL'S DRAGOONS
DAVID LESLIE
OLIVER CROMWELL
CRAWFORD
GEN. BAILLIE
MONTAGU
PICKERING
RUSSELL
DOUGLAS
LINDSAY
Tockwith
MANCHESTER
Marston Cottage
Rabbit Warren
Sand Pit
Bilton
GEN. CUMSDAINE
LEVEN
FAIRFAX
Bream
Marston Hill
SIR A. HAMILTON
Bilton Grange
Middle Field
MARSTON
Marston Whin
FIELDS
Mill Hill
Hogs Br.
Bilton School
The Wyes
Church Field
Jingling Gates
St. Helens Church
Jewitt House
SCALE
Furlongs
Mile

MARSTON MOOR

Sec. VII
The Civil War 1642 to 1646

which promised to undo what Marston Moor had done. The Irish Catholics fulfilled their covenant with Charles by the landing of Irish soldiers in Argyle; and as had long since been arranged, Montrose, throwing himself into the Highlands, called the clans to arms. Flinging his new force on that of the Covenanters at Tippermuir, he gained a victory which enabled him to occupy Perth, to sack Aberdeen, and to spread terror to Edinburgh. The news fired Charles, as he came up from the west, to venture on a march upon London; but though the Scots were detained at Newcastle the rest of the victors at Marston Moor lay in his path at Newbury; and their force was strengthened by the soldiers who had surrendered in Cornwall, but who had been again brought into

Newbury Oct. 27



MEMORIAL MEDAL OF THE EARL OF ESSEX, 1646.
British Museum.

the field. The charges of the royalists failed to break the Parliamentary squadrons, and the soldiers of Essex wiped away the shame of their defeat by flinging themselves on the cannon they had lost, and bringing them back in triumph to their lines. Cromwell would have seized the moment of victory, but the darkness hindered his charging with his single brigade. Manchester, meanwhile, in spite of the prayers of his officers, refused to attack. Like Essex, he shrank from a crowning victory over the King. Charles was allowed to withdraw his army to Oxford, and even to reappear unchecked in the field of his defeat.

Cromwell

The quarrel of Cromwell with Lord Manchester at Newbury was destined to give a new colour and direction to the war. Pym,

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1642 to 1646
1599

in fact, had hardly been borne to his grave in Westminster Abbey before England instinctively recognized a successor of yet greater genius in the victor of Marston Moor. Born in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, the child of a cadet of the great house of the Cromwells of Hinchinbrook, and of kin through their mothers with Hampden and St. John, Oliver had been recalled by his father's death from a short stay at Cambridge to the little family estate at Huntingdon, which he quitted for a farm at St. Ives. We have already seen his mood during the years of personal rule, as he dwelt in "prolonging" and "blackness" amidst fancies of coming death, the melancholy which formed the ground of his nature feeding itself on the inaction of the time. But his energy made itself felt the moment the tyranny was over. His father had sat, with three of his uncles, in the later Parliaments of Elizabeth. Oliver had himself been returned to that of 1628, and the town of Cambridge sent him as its representative to the Short Parliament as to the Long. It is in the latter that a courtier, Sir Philip Warwick, gives us our first glimpse of his actual appearance. "I came into the House one morning, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hat-band. His stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swoln and reddish; his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour." He was already "much hearkened unto," but his power was to assert itself in deeds rather than in words. Men of his own time marked him out from all others by the epithet of Ironside. He appeared at the head of a troop of his own raising at Edgehill; but with the eye of a born soldier he at once saw the blot in the army of Essex. "A set of poor tapsters and town apprentices," he warned Hampden, "would never fight against men of honour;" and he pointed to religious enthusiasm as the one weapon which could meet the chivalry of the Cavalier. Even to Hampden the plan seemed impracticable; but the regiment of a thousand men which Cromwell raised for the Association of the Eastern Counties was formed strictly of "men

Cromwell's Brigade

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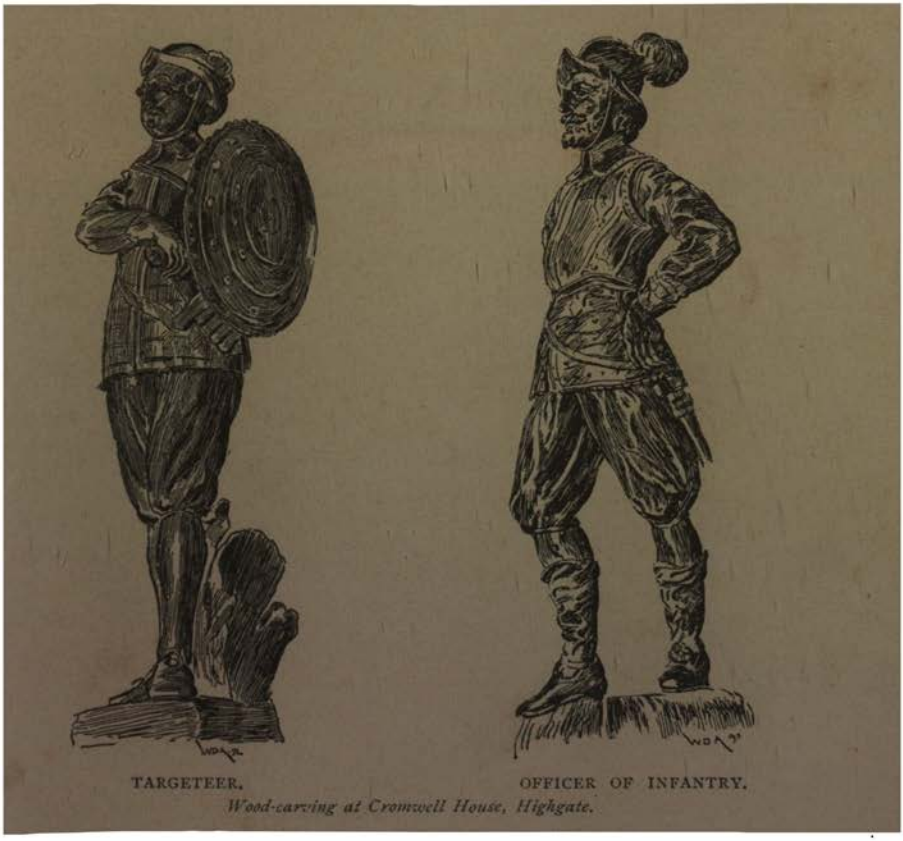
of religion." He spent his fortune freely on the task he set himself. "The business . . . . hath had of me in money between eleven and twelve hundred pounds, therefore my private estate can do little to help the public . . . . I have little money of my own (left) to help my soldiers." But they were "a lovely company," he tells his friends with soldierly pride. No blasphemy, drinking, disorder, or impiety were suffered in their ranks. "Not a man

FIFER. DRUMMER.

Wood-carving at Cromwell House, Highgate.

swears but he pays his twelve pence." Nor was his choice of "men of religion" the only innovation Cromwell introduced into his new regiment. The social traditions which restricted command to men of birth were disregarded. "It may be," he wrote, in answer to complaints from the committee of the Association, "it provokes your spirit to see such plain men made captains of horse. It had been well that men of honour and birth had entered into

their employments; but why do they not appear? But seeing it is necessary the work must go on, better plain men than none: but best to have men patient of wants, faithful and conscientious in their employment, and such, I hope, these will approve themselves." The words paint Cromwell's temper accurately enough: he is far more of the practical soldier than of the reformer; though his genius already breaks in upon his aristocratic and conservative



TARGETEER. OFFICER OF INFANTRY.

Wood-carving at Cromwell House, Highgate.

sympathies, and catches glimpses of the social revolution to which the war was drifting. "I had rather," he once burst out impatiently, "have a plain russet-coated captain, that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows, than what you call a gentleman, and is nothing else. I honour a gentleman that is so indeed!" he ends with a characteristic return to his more common mood of feeling. The same practical temper broke out in a more

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Cromwell and the Dissidents

startling innovation. Bitter as had been his hatred of the bishops, and strenuously as he had worked to bring about a change in Church government, Cromwell, like most of the Parliamentary leaders, seems to have been content with the new Presbyterianism, and the Presbyterians were more than content with him. Lord Manchester "suffered him to guide the army at his pleasure." "The man, Cromwell," writes the Scotchman Baillie, "is a very

MUSKETEER. PIKEMAN.

Wood-carving at Cromwell House, Highgate.

wise and active head, universally well beloved as religious and stout." But against dissidents from the legal worship of the Church the Presbyterians were as bitter as Laud himself; and, as we shall see, Nonconformity was rising into proportions which made its claim of toleration, of the freedom of religious worship, one of the problems of the time. Cromwell met the problem in his unspeculative fashion. He wanted good soldiers and good

men; and, if they were these, the Independent, the Baptist, the Leveller, found entry among his troops. "You would respect them, did you see them," he answered the panic-stricken Presbyterians who charged them with "Anabaptistry" and revolutionary aims: "they are no Anabaptists: they are honest, sober Christians: they expect to be used as men." He was soon to be driven—as in the social change we noticed before—to a far larger and grander

CALIVER-MAN. TARGETEER CARRYING A PIKE.

Wood-carving at Cromwell House, Highgate.

point of view. But as yet he was busier with his new regiment than with theories of Church and State; and his horsemen were no sooner in action than they proved themselves such soldiers as the war had never seen yet. "Truly they were never beaten at all," their leader said proudly at its close. At Winceby fight they charged "singing psalms," cleared Lincolnshire of the Cavaliers, and freed the eastern counties from all danger from Newcastle's

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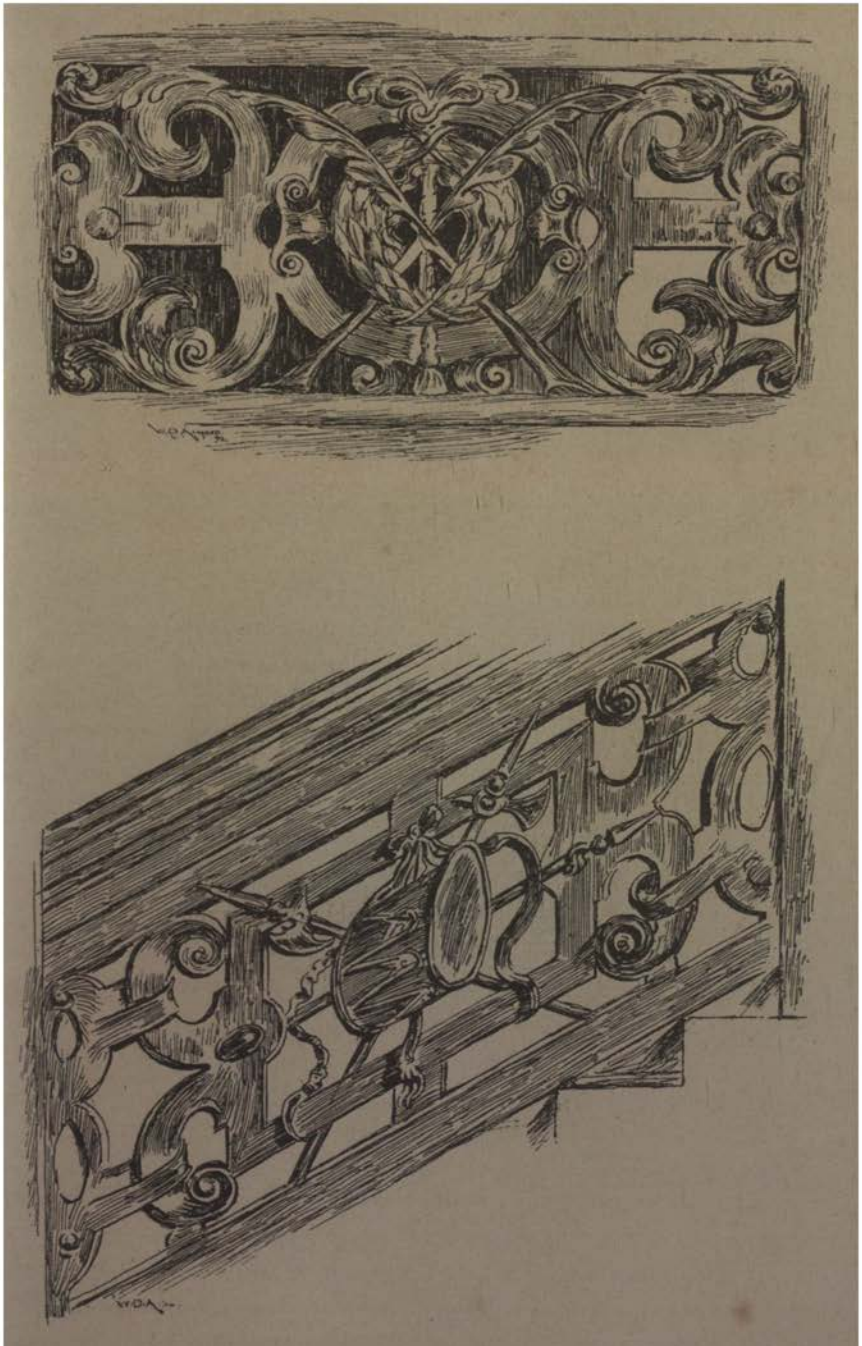
partizans. At Marston Moor they faced and routed Rupert's chivalry. At Newbury it was only Manchester's reluctance that hindered them from completing the ruin of Charles.

The New Model

Cromwell had shown his capacity for organization in the creation of his regiment; his military genius had displayed itself at Marston Moor. Newbury first raised him into a political leader. "Without a more speedy, vigorous, and effective prosecution of

MUSKETEER.
Wood-carving at Cromwell House, Highgate.

the war," he said to the Commons after his quarrel with Manchester, "casting off all lingering proceedings, like those of soldiers of fortune beyond sea to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament." But under the leaders who at present conducted it a vigorous conduct of the war was hopeless. They were, in Cromwell's plain words, "afraid to conquer." They desired not to crush Charles, but to force him



WOOD-CARVING ON STAIRCASE, CROMWELL HOUSE, HIGHGATE.

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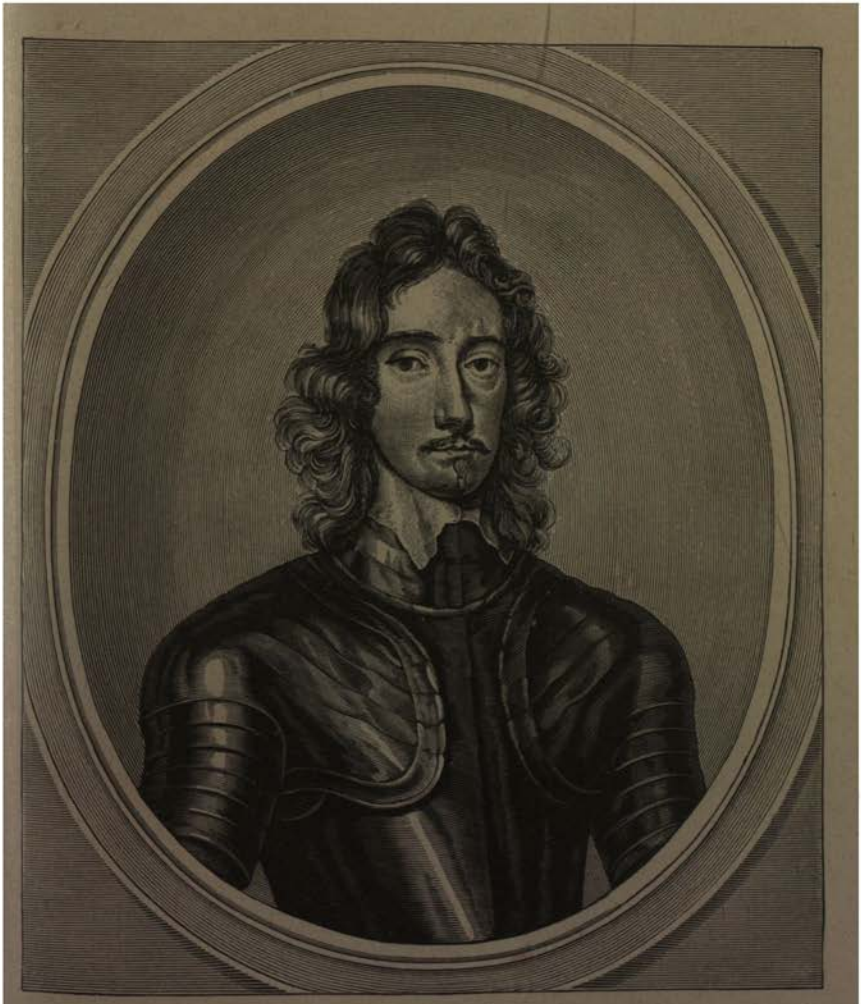
1642 TO 1646

back, with as much of his old strength remaining as might be, to the position of a constitutional King. The old loyalty, too, clogged their enterprise; they shrank from the taint of treason. "If the King be beaten," Manchester urged at Newbury, "he will still be king; if he beat us he will hang us all for traitors." To a mood like this Cromwell's attitude seemed horrible: "If I met the King in battle," he answered, according to a later story, "I would fire my pistol at the King as at another." The army, too, as he long ago urged at Edgehill, was not an army to conquer with. Now, as then, he urged that till the whole force was new modelled, and placed under a stricter discipline, "they must not expect any notable success in anything they went about." But the first step in such a re-organization must be a change of officers. The army was led and officered by members of the two Houses, and the Self-denying Ordinance, as it was introduced by Cromwell and Vane, declared the tenure of military or civil offices incompatible with a seat in either. The long and bitter resistance which this measure met before it was finally passed in a modified form was justified at a later time by the political results which followed the rupture of the tie which had hitherto bound the army to the Parliament. But the drift of public opinion was too strong to be withstood. The passage of the Ordinance brought about the retirement of Essex, Manchester, and Waller; and the new organization of the army went rapidly on under a new commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Fairfax, the hero of the long contest in Yorkshire, and who had been raised into fame by his victory at Nantwich, and his bravery at Marston Moor. But behind Fairfax stood Cromwell; and the principles on which Cromwell had formed his brigade were carried out on a larger scale in the "New Model." The one aim was to get together twenty thousand "honest" men. "Be careful," Cromwell had written, "what captains of horse you choose, what men be mounted. A few honest men are better than numbers. If you choose godly honest men to be captains of horse, honest men will follow them." The result was a curious medley of men of different ranks among the officers of the New Model. The bulk of those in high command remained men of noble or gentle blood, Montagues, Pickerings, Fortescues, Sheffields, Sidneys, and the like. But side by side with these, though in far smaller pro-

The Self-denying Ordinances

portion, were seen officers like Ewer, who had been a serving-man, like Okey, who had been a drayman, or Rainsborough, who had been a "skipper at sea." A result hardly less notable was the



SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.
From an engraving by H. Hondius.

youth of the officers. Among those in high command there were few who, like Cromwell, had passed middle age. Fairfax was but thirty-three, and most of his colonels were even younger. Equally

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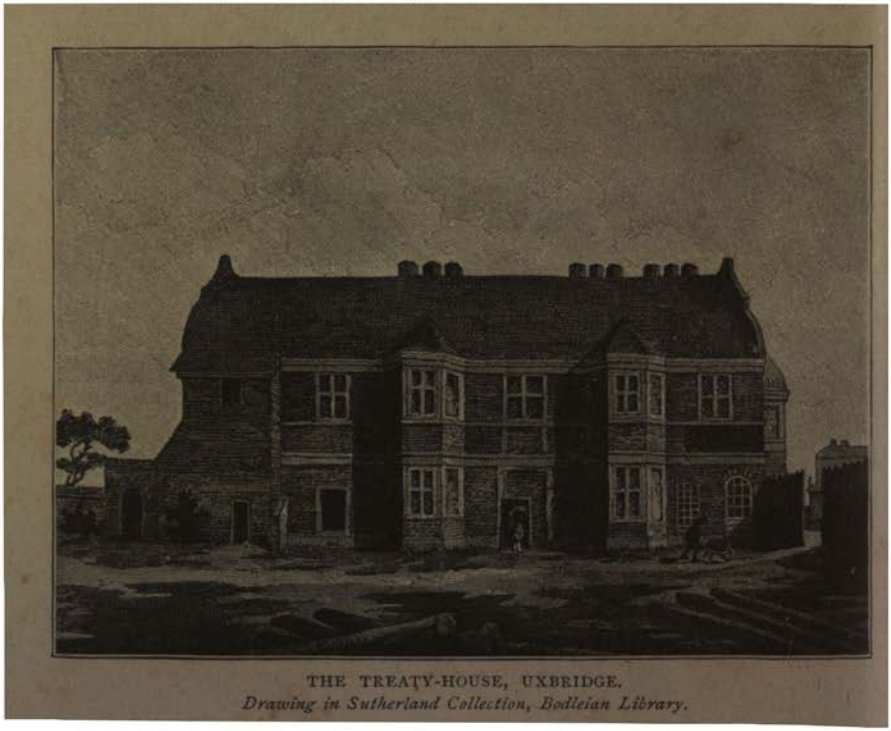
strange was the mixture of religions in its ranks; though a large proportion of the infantry was composed of pressed recruits, the cavalry was for the most part strongly Puritan, and in that part of the army especially dissidence of every type had gained a firm foothold.

Naseby

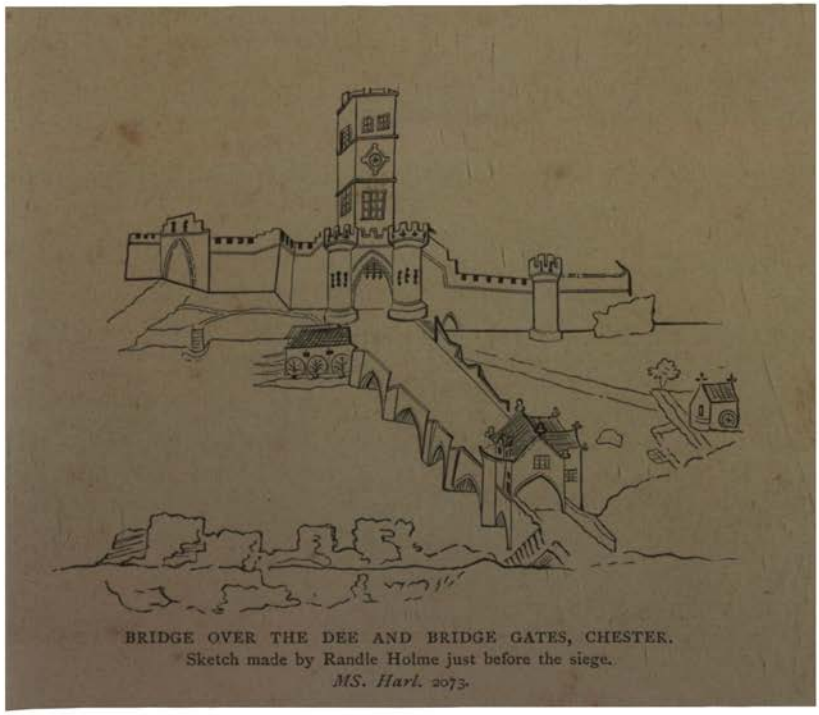
Of the political and religious aspect of the New Model we shall have to speak at a later time; as yet its energy was directed solely to "the speedy and vigorous prosecution of the war." Fairfax was



THE TREATY-HOUSE, UXBRIDGE.
Drawing in Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library.

no sooner ready for action than the policy of Cromwell was aided by the policy of the King. From the hour when Newbury marked the breach between the peace and war parties in the Parliament, the Scotch Commissioners and the bulk of the Commons had seen that their one chance of hindering what they looked on as revolution in Church and State lay in pressing for fresh negotiations with Charles. Commissioners met at Uxbridge to draw up a treaty; but the hopes of concession which Charles held out were suddenly withdrawn in the spring. He saw, as he thought, the

Parliamentary army dissolved and ruined by its new modelling, at an instant when news came from Scotland of fresh successes on the part of Montrose, and of his overthrow of the Marquis of Argyle's troops in the victory of Inverlochy. "Before the end of the summer," wrote the conqueror, "I shall be in a position to come to your Majesty's aid with a brave army." The party of war gained the ascendant; and in May the King opened his campaign by a march to the north. Leicester was stormed, the blockade of

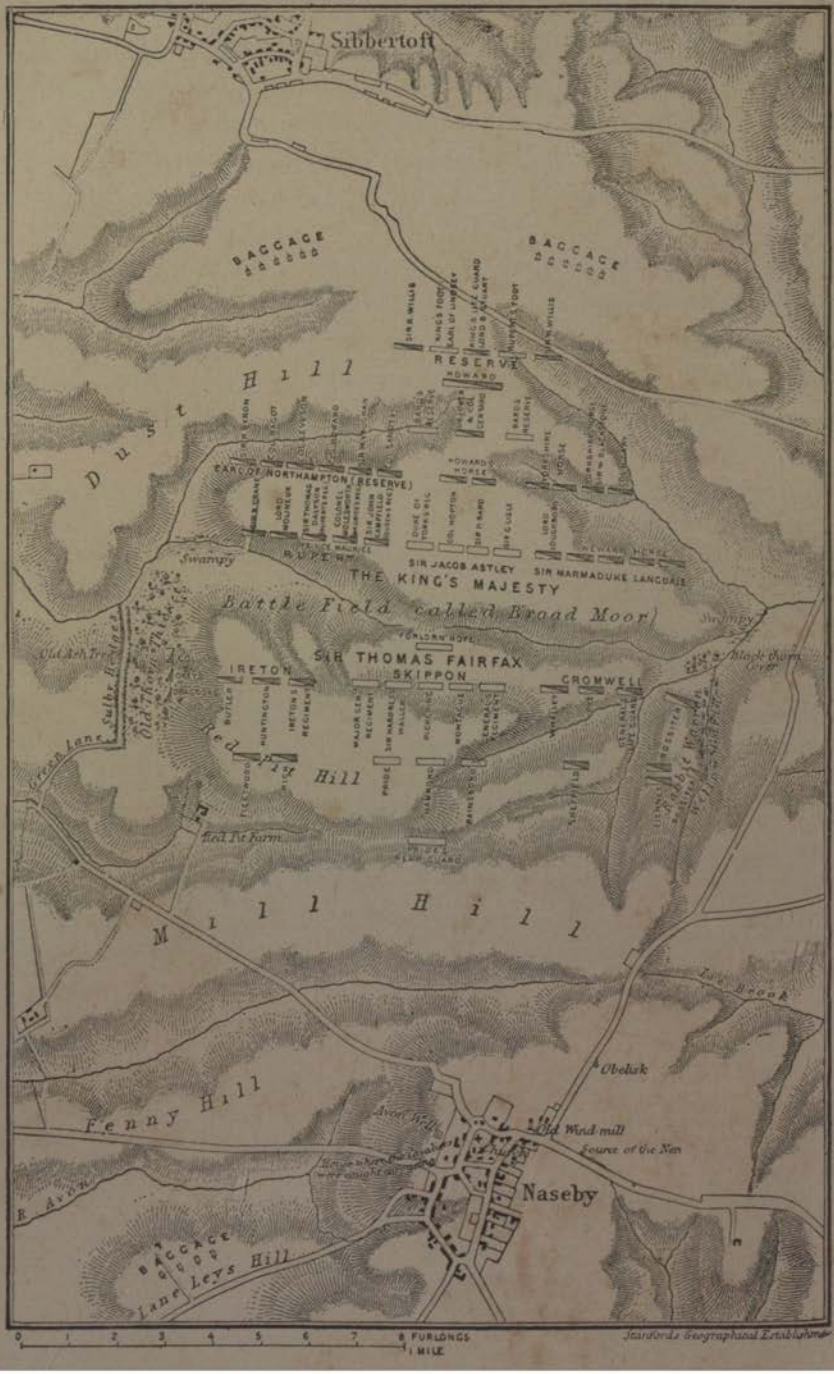


BRIDGE OVER THE DEE AND BRIDGE GATES, CHESTER.
Sketch made by Randle Holme just before the siege.
MS. Harl. 2073.

Chester raised, and the eastern counties threatened until Fairfax, who had been unwillingly engaged in a siege of Oxford, hurried at last on his track. Cromwell, who had been suffered by the House to retain his command for a few days in spite of the Ordinance, joined Fairfax as he drew near the King, and his arrival was greeted by loud shouts of welcome from the troops. The two armies met near Naseby, to the north-west of Northampton. The King was eager to fight. "Never have my affairs been in as good a state," he cried; and Prince Rupert was as impatient as his uncle. On

June 14, 1645

BATTLE OF NASEBY



the other side, even Cromwell doubted as a soldier the success of the newly-drilled troops, though religious enthusiasm swept away doubt in the assurance of victory. "I can say this of Naseby," he wrote soon after, "that when I saw the enemy draw up and march in gallant order towards us, and we a company of poor ignorant men, to seek to order our battle, the general having commanded me to order all the horse, I could not, riding alone about my business, but smile out to God in praises, in assurance of victory, because God would by things that are not bring to nought things that are. Of which I had great assurance, and God did it." The battle began with a furious charge of Rupert uphill, which routed the wing opposed to him under Ireton; while the royalist foot, after a single discharge, clubbed their muskets and fell on the centre under Fairfax so hotly that it slowly and stubbornly gave way. But Cromwell's brigade were conquerors on the left. A single charge broke the northern horse under Langdale, who had already fled before them at Marston Moor; and holding his troops firmly in hand, Cromwell fell with them on the flank of the royalist foot in the very crisis of its success. A panic of the King's reserve, and its flight from the field, aided his efforts: it was in vain that Rupert returned with forces exhausted by pursuit, that Charles, in a passion of despair, called on his troopers for "one charge more." The battle was over: artillery, baggage, even the royal papers, fell into the conqueror's hands; five thousand men surrendered; only two thousand followed the King in his headlong flight from the field. The war was ended at a blow. While Charles wandered helplessly along the Welsh border in search of fresh forces, Fairfax marched rapidly into Somersetshire, and routed the royal forces at Langport. A victory at Kilsyth, which gave Scotland for the moment to Montrose, threw a transient gleam over the darkening fortunes of his master's cause; but the surrender of Bristol to the Parliamentary army, and the dispersion of the last force Charles could collect in an attempt to relieve Chester, was followed by news of the crushing and irretrievable defeat of the "Great Marquis" at Philiphaugh. In the wreck of the royal cause we may pause for a moment over an incident which brings out in relief the best temper of both sides. Cromwell "spent much time with God in prayer before the storm" of Basing House, where the Marquis of Win-

Close of the War

Sept. 1645

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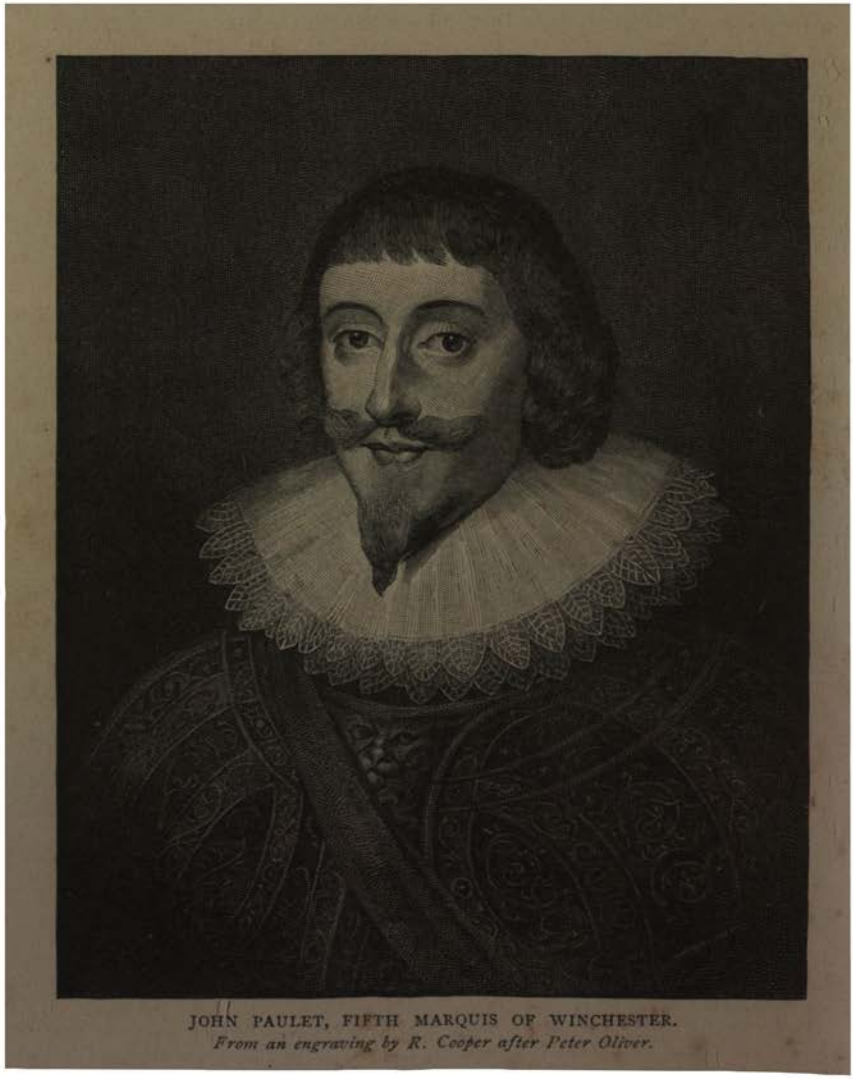
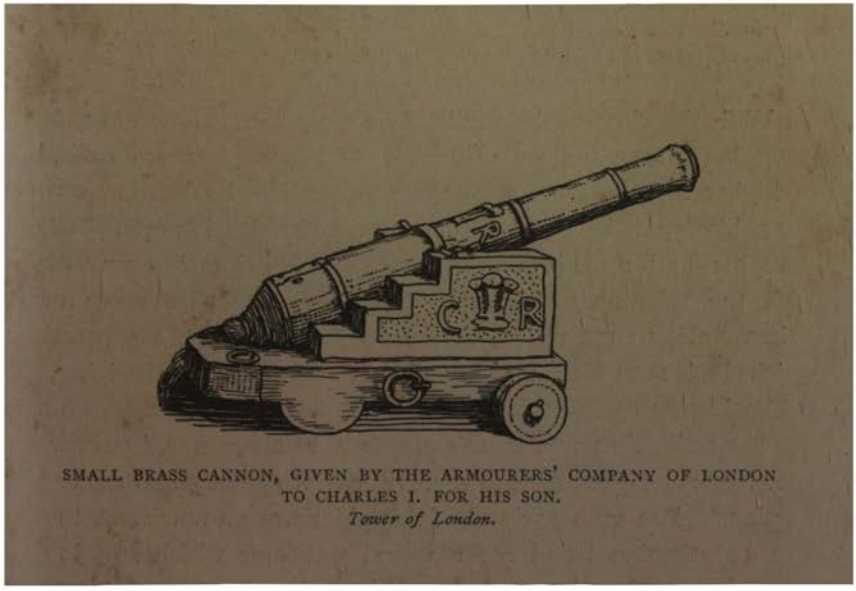
chester had held stoutly out through the war for the King. The storm ended its resistance, and the brave old royalist was brought in a prisoner with his house flaming around him. He "broke out,"



JOHN PAULET, FIFTH MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.
From an engraving by R. Cooper after Peter Oliver.

reports a Puritan bystander, "and said, 'that if the King had no more ground in England but Basing House he would adventure it as he did, and so maintain it to the uttermost,' comforting himself

in this matter 'that Basing House was called Loyalty.'" Of loyalty such as this Charles was utterly unworthy. The seizure of his papers at Naseby had hardly disclosed his earlier intrigues with the Irish Catholics when the Parliament was able to reveal to England a fresh treaty with them, which purchased no longer their neutrality, but their aid, by the simple concession of every demand they had made. The shame was without profit, for whatever aid Ireland might have given came too late to be of service. The spring of 1646 saw the few troops who still clung to Charles surrounded and routed at Stow. "You have done your work now," their leader, Sir Jacob Astley, said bitterly to his conquerors, "and may go to play, unless you fall out among yourselves."



SMALL BRASS CANNON, GIVEN BY THE ARMOURERS' COMPANY OF LONDON TO CHARLES I. FOR HIS SON.
Tower of London.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

SEC. VIII
THE ARMY AND THE PARLIAMENT
1646 TO 1649

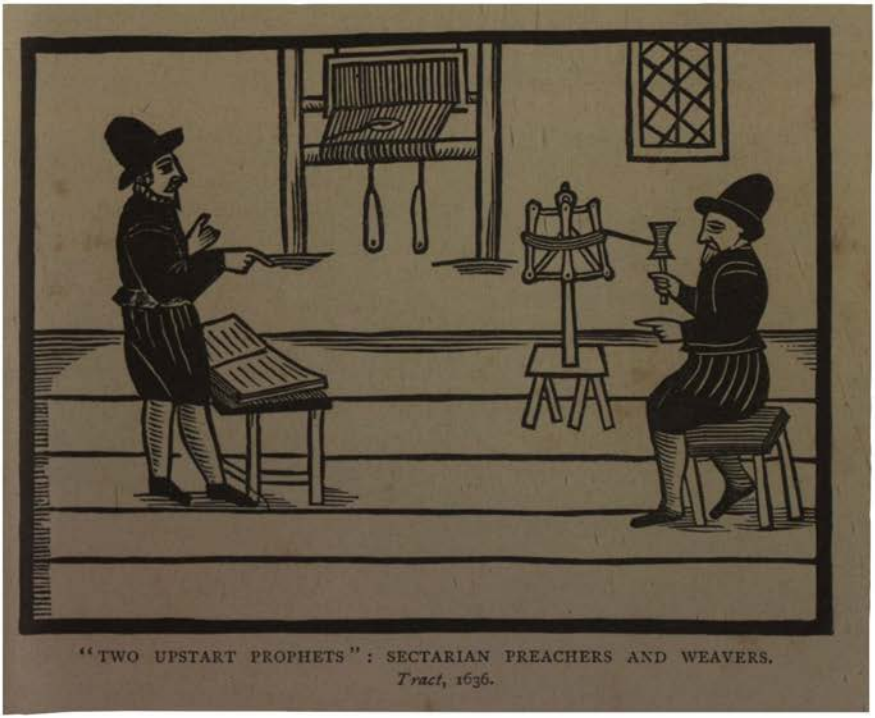
Section VIII.—The Army and the Parliament, 1646—1649

[*Authorities.*—Mainly as before, though Clarendon, invaluable during the war, is tedious and unimportant here, and Cromwell's letters become, unfortunately, few at the moment when we most need their aid. On the other hand Ludlow and Whitelock, as well as the passionate and unscrupulous "Memoirs" of Holles and Major Hutchinson, become of much importance. For Charles himself, we have Sir Thomas Herbert's "Memoirs" of the last two years of this reign. Burnet's "Lives of the Hamiltons" throw a good deal of light on Scotch affairs at this time, and Sir James Turner's "Memoir of the Scotch Invasion." The early history of the Independents, and of the principle of religious freedom, is told by Mr. Masson ("Life of Milton," vol. iii.).]

With the close of the Civil War we enter on a time of confused struggles, a time tedious and uninteresting in its outer details, but of higher interest than even the war itself in its bearing on our after history. Modern England, the England among whose thoughts and sentiments we actually live, began however dimly with the triumph of Naseby. Old things passed silently away. When Astley gave up his sword the "work" of the generations which had struggled for Protestantism against Catholicism, for public liberty against absolute rule, in his own emphatic phrase, was "done." So far as these contests were concerned, however the later Stuarts might strive to revive them, England could safely "go to play." But with the end of this older work a new work began. The constitutional and ecclesiastical problems which still in one shape or another beset us started to the front as subjects of national debate in the years between the close of the Civil War and the death of the King. The great parties which have ever since divided the social, the political, and the religious life of England, whether as Independents and Presbyterians, as Whigs and Tories, as Conservatives and Liberals, sprang into organized existence in the contest between the Army and the Parliament. Then for the first time began a struggle which is far from having

ended yet, a struggle between political tradition and political progress, between the principle of religious conformity and the principle of religious freedom.

It was the religious struggle which drew the political in its train. We have already witnessed the rise under Elizabeth of sects who did not aim, like the Presbyterians, at a change in Church government, but rejected the notion of a national Church at all,



"TWO UPSTART PROPHETS": SECTARIAN PREACHERS AND WEAVERS.
Tract, 1636.

and insisted on the right of each congregation to perfect independence of faith and worship. At the close of the Queen's reign, however, these "Brownists" had almost entirely disappeared. Some of the dissidents, as in the notable instance of the congregation that produced the Pilgrim Fathers, had found a refuge in Holland; but the bulk had been driven by persecution to a fresh conformity with the Established Church. "As for those which we call Brownists," says Bacon, "being when they were at the best a very small number of very silly and base people, here and there in

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corners dispersed, they are now, thanks to God, by the good remedies that have been used, suppressed and worn out so that there is scarce any news of them." As soon, however, as Abbot's primacy promised a milder rule, the Separatist refugees began to venture timidly back again to England. During their exile in Holland the main body had contented themselves with the free developement of their system of independent congregations, each forming in itself a complete Church, and to them the name of Independents attached itself at a later time. A small part, however, had drifted into a more marked severance in doctrine from the Established Church, especially in their belief of the necessity of adult baptism, a belief from which their obscure congregation at Leyden became known as that of the Baptists. Both of these sects gathered a church in London in the middle of James's reign, but the persecuting zeal of Laud prevented any spread of their opinions under that of his successor; and it was not till their numbers were suddenly increased by the return of a host of emigrants from New England, with Hugh Peters at their head, on

JOHN LILBURNE.
Print, 1649, in British Museum.

1640 the opening of the Long Parliament, that the Congregational or Independent body began to attract attention. Lilburne and Burton soon declared themselves adherents of what was called "the New England way;" and a year later saw in London alone the rise of "four score congregations of several sectaries," as Bishop Hall

scornfully tells us, "instructed by guides fit for them, cobblers, tailors, felt-makers, and such-like trash." But little religious weight however could be attributed as yet to the Congregational movement. Baxter at this time had not heard of the existence of

"THESE TRADESMEN ARE PREACHERS IN THE CITY OF LONDON, 1647."
Broadside in British Museum.

any Independents. Milton in his earlier pamphlets shows no sign of their influence. Of the hundred and five ministers present in the Westminster Assembly only five were Congregational in sympathy, and these were all returned refugees from Holland. Among the

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one hundred and twenty London ministers in 1643, only three were suspected of leanings towards the Sectaries.

Presbyterian England

The struggle with Charles in fact at its outset only threw new difficulties in the way of religious freedom. It was with strictly conservative aims in ecclesiastical as in political matters that Pym and his colleagues began the strife. Their avowed purpose was simply to restore the Church of England to its state under Elizabeth, and to free it from "innovations," from the changes introduced by Laud and his fellow prelates. The great majority of the Parliament were averse to any alterations in the constitution or doctrine of the Church itself; and it was only the refusal of the bishops to accept any diminution of their power and revenues, the growth of a party hostile to Episcopalian government, the necessity for purchasing the aid of the Scots by a union in religion as in politics, and above all the urgent need of constructing some new ecclesiastical organization in the place of the older organization which had become impossible from the political attitude of the bishops, that forced on the two Houses the adoption of the Covenant. But the change to a Presbyterian system of Church government seemed at that time of little import to the bulk of Englishmen. The dogma of the necessity of bishops was held by few, and the change was generally regarded with approval as one which brought the Church of England nearer to that of Scotland and to the reformed Churches of the Continent. But whatever might be the change in its administration, no one imagined that it had ceased to be the Church of England, or that it had parted with its right to exact conformity to its worship from the nation at large. The Tudor theory of its relation to the State, of its right to embrace all Englishmen within its pale, and to dictate what should be their faith and form of worship, remained utterly unquestioned by any man of note. The sentiments on which such a theory rested indeed for its main support, the power of historical tradition, the association of "dissidence" with danger to the State, the strong English instinct of order, the as strong English dislike of "innovations," with the abhorrence of "indifferency," as a sign of lukewarmness in matters of religion, had only been intensified by the earlier incidents of the struggle with the King. The Parliament therefore had steadily pressed on the new system of

ecclesiastical government in the midst of the troubles of the war. An Assembly of Divines which was called together at Westminster in 1643, and which sat in the Jerusalem Chamber during the five years which followed, was directed to revise the Articles, to draw up a Confession of Faith, and a Directory of Public Worship ; and these with a scheme of Church government, a scheme only distinguished from that of Scotland by the significant addition of a lay court of superior appeal set by Parliament over the whole

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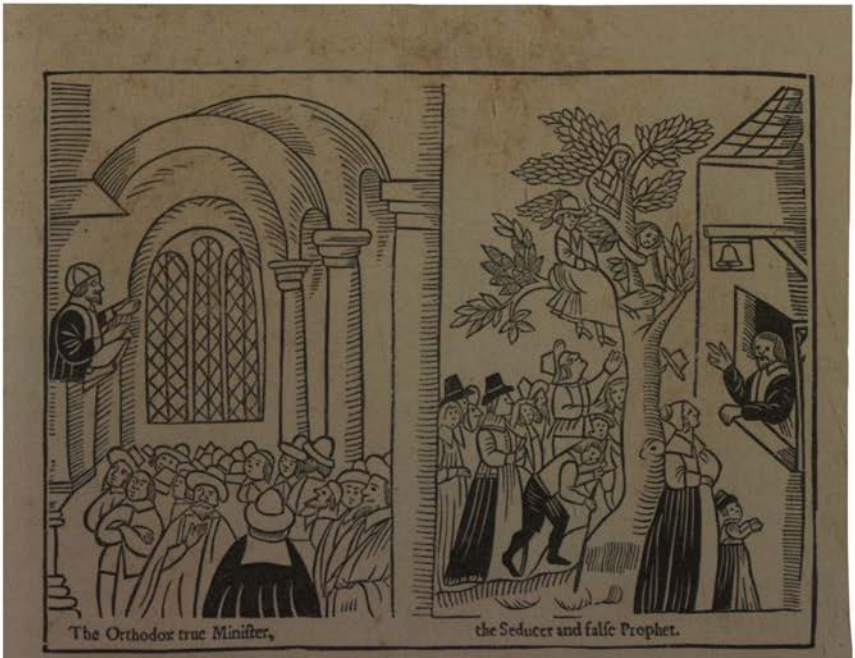
Westminster Assembly 1643–1648



CHURCH AND CONVENTICLE.
Tract, "A Glasse for the Times," 1641.

system of Church courts and assemblies, were accepted by the Houses and embodied in a series of Ordinances.

Freedom of Conscience

Had the change been made at the moment when "with uplifted hands" the Commons swore to the Covenant in St. Margaret's it would probably have been accepted by the country at large. But it met with a very different welcome when it came at the end of the war. In spite of repeated votes of Parliament for its establishment, the pure Presbyterian system took root only in

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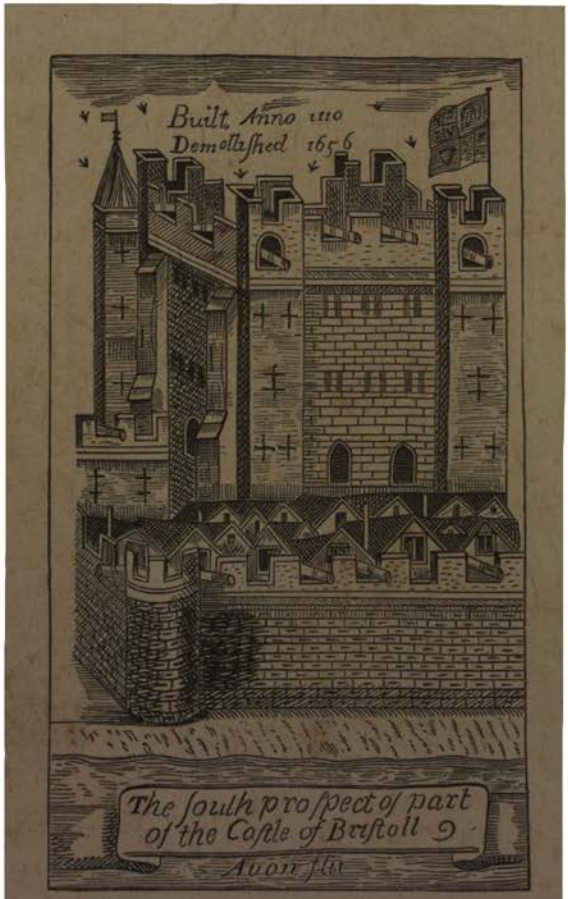
London and Lancashire. While the Divines, indeed, were drawing up their platform of uniform belief and worship in the Jerusalem Chamber, dissidence had grown into a religious power. In the terrible agony of the struggle against Charles, individual conviction became a stronger force than religious tradition. Theological speculation took an unprecedented boldness from the temper of the times. Four years after the war had begun a horror-stricken pamphleteer numbered sixteen religious sects as existing in defiance of the law; and, widely as these bodies differed among themselves, all were at one in repudiating any right of control in faith or worship by the Church or its clergy. Milton himself had left his Presbyterian stand-point, and saw that "new Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." The question of sectarianism soon grew into a practical one from its bearing on the war; for the class specially infected with the new spirit of religious freedom was just the class to whose zeal and vigour the Parliament was forced to look for success in its struggle. We have seen the prevalence of this spirit among the farmers from whom Cromwell drew his horsemen, and his enlistment of these "sectaries" was the first direct breach in the old system of conformity. The sentiments of the farmers indeed were not his own. Cromwell had signed the Covenant, and there is no reason for crediting him with any aversion to Presbyterianism as a system of doctrine or of Church organization. His first step was a purely practical one, a step dictated by military necessities, and excused in his mind by a sympathy with "honest" men, as well as by the growing but still vague notion of a communion among Christians wider than that of outer conformity in worship or belief. But the alarm and remonstrances of the Presbyterians forced his mind rapidly forward on the path of toleration. "The State in choosing men to serve it," Cromwell wrote before Marston Moor, "takes no notice of these opinions. If they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies." Marston Moor spurred him to press on the Parliament the need of at least "tolerating" dissidents; and he succeeded in procuring the appointment of a Committee of the Commons to find some means of effecting this. But the conservative temper of the bulk of the Puritans was at last roused by his efforts. "We detest and abhor," wrote the London clergy in 1645, "the much

Cromwell and toleration

endeavoured Toleration;" and the Corporation of London petitioned Parliament to suppress all sects "without toleration." The Parliament itself too remained steady on the conservative side. But the fortunes of the war told for religious freedom. Essex and his Presbyterians only marched from defeat to defeat. In remodelling the army the Commons had rejected a demand made by the Lords that officers and men, besides taking the Covenant, should submit "to the form of Church government that was already voted by both Houses." The victory of Naseby raised a wider question than that of mere toleration. "Honest men served you faithfully in this action," Cromwell wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons from the field. "Sir, they are trusty: I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience." The storm of Bristol encouraged him to proclaim the new principles yet more distinctly. "Presbyterians, Independents, all



BRISTOL CASTLE.
Millard's Map of Bristol, 1763; from a drawing, 1642—1656.

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here have the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer. They agree here, have no names of difference; pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere. All that believe

a godly dissenting Brother
a godly Brother of the Presbeterian way
Let us lay this aside
The right hand of followship
Let not the world devide those whom Christ hath Joyned

"A PIOUS AND SEASONABLE PERSWASIVE TO THE SONNES OF ZION."
Broadside, 1647, in British Museum.

have the real unity, which is the most glorious, being the inward and spiritual, in the body and in the head. For being united in forms (commonly called uniformity), every Christian will for peace' sake study and do as far as conscience will permit. And

from brethren in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason."

The increasing firmness of Cromwell's language was due to the growing irritation of his opponents. The two parties became every day more clearly defined. The Presbyterian ministers complained bitterly of the increase of the sectaries, and denounced the toleration which had come into practical existence without sanction from the law. Scotland, whose army was still before Newark, pressed for the execution of the Covenant and the universal enforcement of a religious uniformity. Sir Harry Vane, on the other hand, was striving to bring the Parliament round to less rigid courses by the introduction of two hundred and thirty new members, who filled the seats left vacant by royalist secessions, and the more eminent of whom, such as Ireton and Algernon Sydney, were inclined to support the Independents. But it was only the pressure of the New Model, and the remonstrances of Cromwell as its mouthpiece, which hindered any effective movement towards persecution. Amidst the wreck of his fortunes Charles intrigued busily with both parties, and promised liberty of worship to Vane and the Independents, at the moment when he was negotiating with the Parliament and the Scots. His negotiations were quickened by the march of Fairfax upon Oxford. Driven from his last refuge, the King after some aimless wanderings made his appearance in the camp of the Scots. Lord Leven at once fell back with his royal prize to Newcastle. The new aspect of affairs threatened the party of religious freedom with ruin. Hated as they were by the Scots, by the Lords, by the City of London, the apparent junction of Charles with their enemies destroyed their growing hopes in the Commons, where the prospects of a speedy peace on Presbyterian terms at once swelled the majority of their opponents. The two Houses laid their conditions of peace before the King without a dream of resistance from one who seemed to have placed himself at their mercy. They required for the Parliament the command of the army and fleet for twenty years; the exclusion of all "Malignants," or royalists who had taken part in the war, from civil and military office; the abolition of Episcopacy; and the establishment of a Presbyterian Church. Of toleration or liberty of conscience they said not a word. The Scots pressed

Charles and the Presbyterians

Charles in the Scotch Camp *May* 1646

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these terms on the King "with tears;" his friends, and even the Queen, urged their acceptance. But the aim of Charles was simply delay. Time and the dissensions of his enemies, as he believed, were fighting for him. "I am not without hope," he wrote coolly, "that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or the Independents to side with me for extirpating one another, so that

DENZIL HOLLES.
Frontispiece (engraved by R. White) to his Memoirs, 1699.

I shall be really King again." His refusal of the terms offered by the Houses was a crushing defeat for the Presbyterians. "What will become of us," asked one of them, "now that the King has rejected our proposals?" "What would have become of us," retorted an Independent, "had he accepted them?" The vigour of Holles and the Conservative leaders in the Parliament rallied how-

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ever to a bolder effort. The King's game lay in balancing the army against the Parliament; and while the Scotch army lay at Newcastle the Houses could not insist on dismissing their own. It was only a withdrawal of the Scots from England and their transfer of the King's person into the hands of the Houses that would enable them to free themselves from the pressure of their own soldiers by disbanding the New Model. Hopeless of success

ANDERSON'S PLACE.
House in which Charles I. lodged at Newcastle.

Surrender of the King Jan. 1647

with the King, and unable to bring him into Scotland in face of the refusal of the General Assembly to receive a sovereign who would not swear to the Covenant, the Scottish army accepted £400,000 in discharge of its claims, handed Charles over to a committee of the Houses, and marched back over the Border. Masters of the King, the Presbyterian leaders at once moved boldly to their attack on the New Model and the Sectaries. They voted

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that the army should be disbanded, and that a new army should be raised for the suppression of the Irish rebellion with Presbyterian officers at its head. It was in vain that the men protested against being severed from "officers that we love," and that the Council of Officers strove to gain time by pressing on the Parliament the danger of mutiny. Holles and his fellow-leaders were resolute, and their ecclesiastical legislation showed the end at which their resolution aimed. Direct enforcement of conformity was impossible till the New Model was disbanded; but the Parliament pressed on in the work of providing the machinery for enforcing it as soon as the army was gone. Vote after vote ordered

BLACKSMITHS.
Middle Seventeenth Century.
Ballad in Roxburghe Collection.

the setting up of Presbyteries throughout the country, and the first-fruits of these efforts were seen in the Presbyterian organization of London, and in the first meeting of its Synod at St. Paul's. Even the officers on Fairfax's staff were ordered to take the Covenant.

The Army and the Parliament

All hung however on the disbanding of the New Model, and the New Model showed no will to disband itself. Its attitude can only fairly be judged by remembering what many of the conquerors of Naseby really were. They were soldiers of a different class and of a different temper from the soldiers of any other army that the world has seen. They were for the most part young farmers and tradesmen of the lower sort, maintaining themselves, for the pay

was twelve months in arrear, mainly at their own cost. The horsemen in many regiments had been specially picked as "honest," or religious men; and whatever enthusiasm or fanaticism they may have shown, their very enemies acknowledged the order and piety of their camp. They looked on themselves not as swordsmen, to be caught up and flung away at the will of a paymaster, but as men who had left farm and merchandise at a direct call from God. A great work had been given them to do, and the call bound them till it was done. Kingcraft, as Charles was hoping, might

"THE COUNTRYMAN'S CARE AND THE CITIZEN'S FEAR."
Tract, 1641.

yet restore tyranny to the throne. A more immediate danger threatened that liberty of conscience which was to them "the ground of the quarrel, and for which so many of their friends' lives had been lost, and so much of their own blood had been spilt." They would wait before disbanding till these liberties were secured, and if need came they would again act to secure them. But their resolve sprang from no pride in the brute force of the sword they wielded. On the contrary, as they pleaded passionately at the bar of the Commons, "on becoming soldiers we have not ceased to be citizens." Their aims and proposals throughout were purely

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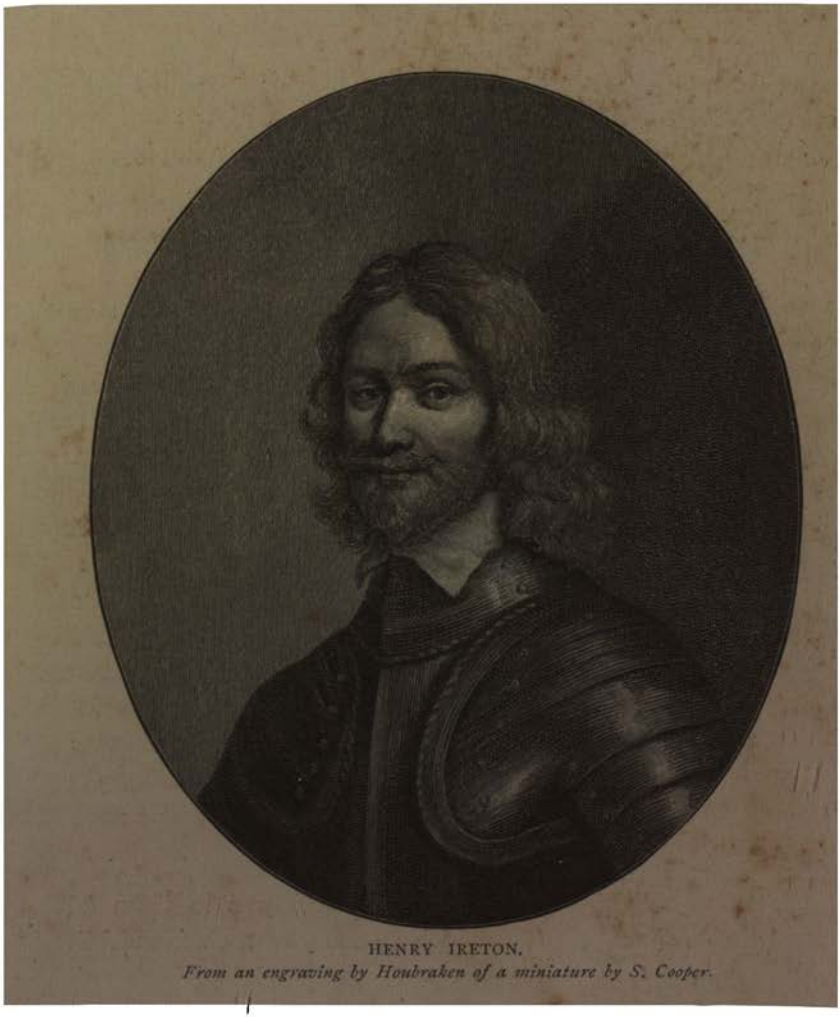
those of citizens, and of citizens who were ready the moment their aim was won to return peacefully to their homes. Thought and discussion had turned the army into a vast Parliament, a Parliament which regarded itself as representative of "godly" men in



HENRY IRETON.
From an engraving by Houbraken of a miniature by S. Cooper.

as high a degree as the Parliament at Westminster, and which must have become every day more conscious of its superiority in political capacity to its rival. Ireton, the moving spirit of the New Model, had no equal as a statesman in St. Stephen's: nor is it possible to compare the large and far-sighted proposals of the

army with the blind and narrow policy of the two Houses. Whatever we may think of the means by which the New Model sought its aims, we must in justice remember that, so far as those aims went, the New Model was in the right. For the last two hundred years England has been doing little more than carrying out in a slow and tentative way the scheme of political and religious reform which the army propounded at the close of the Civil War. It was not till the rejection of the officers' proposals had left little hope of conciliation that the army acted, but its action was quick and decisive. It set aside for all political purposes the Council of Officers, and elected a new Council of Agitators or Agents, two members being named by each regiment, which summoned a general meeting of the army at Triploe Heath, where the proposals of pay and disbanding made by the Parliament were rejected with cries of "Justice." While the army was gathering, in fact, the Agitators had taken a step which put submission out of the question. A rumour that the King was to be removed to London, a new army raised, a new civil war begun, roused the soldiers to madness.

GILT ARMOUR GIVEN TO CHARLES I. BY THE CITY OF LONDON.
Tower of London.

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1646 TO 1649

The seizure of the King
June 1647

Five hundred troopers suddenly appeared before Holmby House where the King was residing in charge of Parliamentary Commissioners, and displaced its guards. "Where is your commission for this act?" Charles asked the cornet who commanded them. "It is behind me," said Joyce, pointing to his soldiers. "It is written in very fine and legible characters," laughed the King. The seizure had in fact been previously concerted between Charles and the Agitators. "I will part willingly," he told Joyce, "if the soldiers confirm all that you have promised me. You will exact from me nothing that offends my conscience or my honour." "It is not our maxim," replied the cornet, "to constrain the conscience of any one, still less that of our King." After a fresh burst of terror at the news, the Parliament fell furiously on Cromwell, who had relinquished his command and quitted the army before the close of the war, and had ever since been employed as a mediator between the two parties. The charge of having incited the mutiny fell before his vehement protest, but he was driven to seek refuge with the army, and on the 25th of June it was in full march upon London. Its demands were expressed with perfect clearness in an "Humble Representation" which it addressed to the Houses. "We desire a settlement of the Peace of the kingdom and of the liberties of the subject according to the votes and declarations of Parliament. We desire no alteration in the civil government: as little do we desire to interrupt or in the least to intermeddle with the settling of the Presbyterial government." They demanded toleration; but "not to open a way to licentious living under pretence of obtaining ease for tender consciences, we profess, as ever, in these things when the state has made a settlement we have nothing to say, but to submit or suffer." It was with a view to such a settlement that they demanded the expulsion of eleven members from the Commons, with Holles at their head, whom the soldiers charged with stirring up strife between the army and the Parliament, and with a design of renewing the civil war. After fruitless negotiations the terror of the Londoners forced the eleven to withdraw; and the Houses named Commissioners to treat on the questions at issue.

Though Fairfax and Cromwell had been forced from their

position as mediators into a hearty co-operation with the army, its political direction rested at this moment with Cromwell's son-in-law, Henry Ireton, and Ireton looked for a real settlement, not to the Parliament, but to the King. "There must be some difference," he urged bluntly, "between conquerors and conquered;" but the terms which he laid before Charles were terms of studied moderation. The vindictive spirit which the Parliament had shown against the royalists and the Church disappeared in the terms exacted by the New Model; and the army contented itself with the banishment of seven leading "delinquents," a general Act of Oblivion for the rest, the withdrawal of all coercive power from the clergy, the control of Parliament over the military and naval forces for ten years, and its nomination of the great officers of state. Behind these demands however came a masterly and comprehensive plan of political reform which had already been sketched by the army in the "Humble Representation," with which it had begun its march on London. Belief and worship were to be free to all. Acts enforcing the use of the Prayer-book, or attendance at Church, or the enforcement of the Covenant were to be repealed. Even Catholics, whatever other restraints might be imposed, were to be freed from the bondage of compulsory worship. Parliaments were to be triennial, and the House of Commons to be reformed by a fairer distribution of seats and of electoral rights; taxation was to be readjusted; legal procedure simplified; a crowd of political, commercial, and judicial privileges abolished. Ireton believed that Charles could be "so managed" (says Mrs. Hutchinson) "as to comply with the public good of his people after he could no longer uphold his violent will." But Charles was equally dead to the moderation and to the wisdom of this great Act of Settlement. He saw in the crisis nothing but an opportunity of balancing one party against another; and believed that the army had more need of his aid than he of the army's. "You cannot do without me—you are lost if I do not support you," he said to Ireton as he pressed his proposals. "You have an intention to be the arbitrator between us and the Parliament," Ireton quietly replied, "and we mean to be so between the Parliament and your Majesty." But the King's tone was soon explained. A mob of Londoners broke into the House of Commons,

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and forced its members to recall the eleven. While some fourteen peers and a hundred commoners fled to the army, those who remained at Westminster prepared for an open struggle with it, and invited Charles to return to London. But the news no sooner reached the camp than the army was again on the march. "In two days," Cromwell said coolly, "the city will be in our hands."

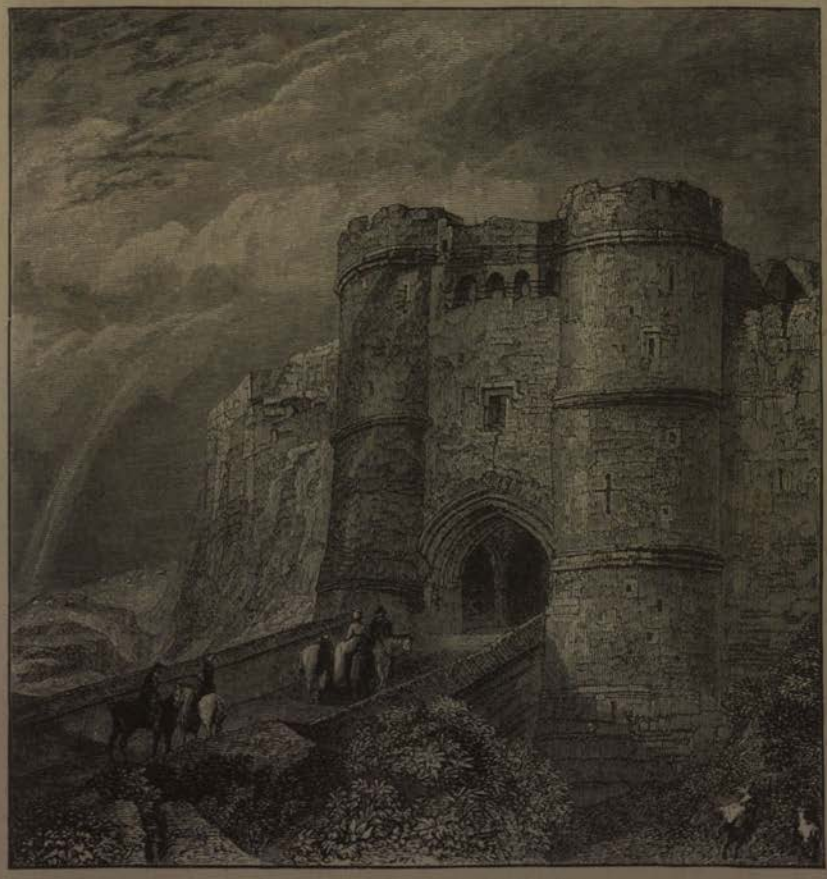
Aug. 6 The soldiers entered London in triumph, and restored the fugitive members; the eleven were again expelled, and the army leaders resumed negotiations with the King. The indignation of the soldiers at his delays and intrigues made the task hourly more difficult; but Cromwell, who now threw his whole weight on Ireton's side, clung to the hope of accommodation with a passionate tenacity. His mind, conservative by tradition, and above all practical in temper, saw the political difficulties which would follow on the abolition of Monarchy, and in spite of the King's evasions he persisted in negotiating with him. But Cromwell stood almost alone; the Parliament refused to accept Ireton's proposals as a basis of peace, Charles still evaded, and the army grew restless and suspicious. There were cries for a wide reform, for the abolition of the House of Peers, for a new House of Commons; and the Agitators called on the Council of Officers to discuss the question of abolishing royalty itself. Cromwell was never braver than when he faced the gathering storm, forbade the discussion, adjourned the Council, and sent the officers to their regiments. But the strain was too great to last long, and Charles was still resolute "to play his game." He was in fact so far from being in earnest in his negotiation with Cromwell and Ireton, that at the moment they were risking their lives for him he was conducting another and equally delusive negotiation with the Parliament, fomenting the discontent in London, preparing for a fresh royalist rising, and for an intervention of the Scots in his favour. "The two nations," he wrote joyously, "will soon be at war." All that was needed for the success of his schemes was his own liberty; and

Flight of the King Nov. 1647 in the midst of their hopes of an accommodation the army leaders found with astonishment that they had been duped throughout and that the King had fled.

The Second Civil War

The flight fanned the excitement of the New Model into frenzy, and only the courage of Cromwell averted an open mutiny in

its gathering at Ware. But even Cromwell was powerless to break the spirit which now pervaded the soldiers, and the King's perfidy left him without resource. "The King is a man of great parts and great understanding," he said, "but so great a dissembler and so false a man that he is not to be trusted." The danger from his



GATEWAY OF CARISBROOK CASTLE.
After J. M. W. Turner.

escape indeed soon passed away. By a strange error Charles had ridden from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, perhaps with some hope from the sympathy of Colonel Hammond, the Governor of Carisbrook Castle, and again found himself a prisoner. Foiled in his effort to put himself at the head of the new civil war, he set

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himself to organize it from his prison ; and while again opening delusive negotiations with the Parliament, he signed a secret treaty with the Scots for the invasion of the realm. The practical suspension of the Covenant and the triumph of the party of religious liberty in England had produced a violent reaction across the Tweed. The moderate party had gathered round the Duke of Hamilton, and carried the elections against Argyle and the more zealous religionists ; and on the King's consenting to a stipulation for the re-establishment of Presbytery in England, they ordered

1648

"THE HUMBLE PETITION OF JOCK OF BREAD."
Tract, 1648.

an army to be levied for his support. In England the whole of the conservative party, with many of the most conspicuous members of the Long Parliament at its head, was drifting, in its horror of the religious and political changes which seemed impending, towards the King ; and the news from Scotland gave the signal for fitful insurrections in almost every quarter. London was only held down by main force, old officers of the Parliament unfurled the royal flag in South Wales, and surprised Pembroke. The seizure of Berwick and Carlisle opened a way for the Scotch invasion. Kent, Essex, and Hertford broke out in revolt. The fleet in the

Downs sent their captains on shore, hoisted the King's pennon, and blockaded the Thames. "The hour is come for the Parliament to save the kingdom and to govern alone," cried Cromwell; but the Parliament only showed itself eager to take advantage of the crisis to profess its adherence to monarchy, to re-open the negotiations it had broken off with the King, and to deal the fiercest blow at religious freedom which it had ever received. The Presbyterians flocked back to their seats; and an "Ordinance for the suppression of Blasphemies and Heresies," which Vane and Cromwell had long held at bay, was passed by triumphant majorities. Any man—ran this terrible statute—denying the doctrine of the Trinity or of the Divinity of Christ, or that the books of Scripture are "the Word of God," or the resurrection of the body, or a future day of judgment, and refusing on trial to abjure his heresy, "shall suffer the pain of death." Any man declaring (amidst a long list of other errors) "that man by nature hath free will to turn to God," that there is a Purgatory, that images are lawful, that infant baptism is unlawful; any one denying the obligation of observing the Lord's day, or asserting "that the Church government by Presbytery is anti-Christian or unlawful," shall on a refusal to renounce his errors "be commanded to prison." It was plain that the Presbyterians counted on the King's success to resume their policy of conformity, and had Charles been free, or the New Model disbanded, their hopes would probably have been realized. But Charles was still safe at Carisbrook; and the New Model was facing fiercely the danger which surrounded it. The wanton renewal of the war at a moment when all tended to peace swept from the mind of Fairfax and Cromwell, as from that of the army at large, every thought of reconciliation with the King. Soldiers and generals were at last bound together again in a stern resolve. On the eve of their march against the revolt all gathered in a solemn prayer-meeting, and came "to a very clear and joint resolution, 'That it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for the blood he has shed and mischief he has done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in this poor nation.'" In a few days Fairfax had trampled down the Kentish insurgents, and had prisoned those of the eastern counties within the walls of

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Colchester, while Cromwell drove the Welsh insurgents within those of Pembroke. Both towns however held stubbornly out; and though a rising under Lord Holland in the neighbourhood of London was easily put down, there was no force left to stem the inroad of the Scots, who poured over the border some twenty thousand strong. Luckily the surrender of Pembroke at this critical moment set Cromwell free. Pushing rapidly northward with five thousand men, he called in the force under Lambert, which had been gallantly hanging on the Scottish flank, and pushed over the Yorkshire hills into the valley of the Ribble, where the Duke of Hamilton, reinforced by three thousand royalists of the north, had advanced as far as Preston. With an army which now numbered ten thousand men, Cromwell poured down on the flank of the Duke's straggling line of march, attacked the Scots as they retired behind the Ribble, passed the river with them, cut their rearguard to pieces at Wigan, forced the defile at Warrington, where the flying enemy made a last and desperate stand, and drove their foot to surrender, while Lambert hunted down Hamilton and the horse. Fresh from its victory, the New Model pushed over the Border, while the peasants of Ayrshire and the west rose in the "Whiggamore raid" (notable as the first event in which we find the name "Whig," which is possibly the same as our "Whey," and conveys a taunt against the "sour-milk" faces of the fanatical Ayrshiremen), and marching upon Edinburgh dispersed the royalist party and again installed Argyle in power.

SIEGE PIECE, COLCHESTER, 1648.

The Scotch Invasion

Aug. 17, 1648

Ruin of the Parliament

Argyle welcomed Cromwell as a deliverer, but the victorious general had hardly entered Edinburgh when he was recalled by pressing news from the south. The temper with which the Parliament had met the royalist revolt was, as we have seen, widely different from that of the army. It had recalled the eleven members, and had passed the Ordinance against heresy. At the moment of the victory at Preston the Lords were discussing

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charges of treason against Cromwell, while commissioners were again sent to the Isle of Wight, in spite of the resistance of the Independents, to conclude peace with the King. Royalists and Presbyterians alike pressed Charles to grasp the easy terms which were now offered him. But his hopes from Scotland had only broken down to give place to hopes of a new war with the aid of an army from Ireland; and the negotiators saw forty days wasted in useless chicanery. "Nothing," Charles wrote to his friends, "is

COLCHESTER CASTLE.
After W. H. Bartlett.

changed in my designs." But the surrender of Colchester to Fairfax in August, and Cromwell's convention with Argyle, had now set free the army, and petitions from its regiments at once demanded "justice on the King." A fresh "Remonstrance" from the Council of Officers called for the election of a new Parliament; for electoral reform; for the recognition of the supremacy of the Houses "in all things;" for the change of kingship, should it be retained, into a magistracy elected by the Parliament, and without veto on its proceedings. Above all, they demanded "that the

Demands of the Army

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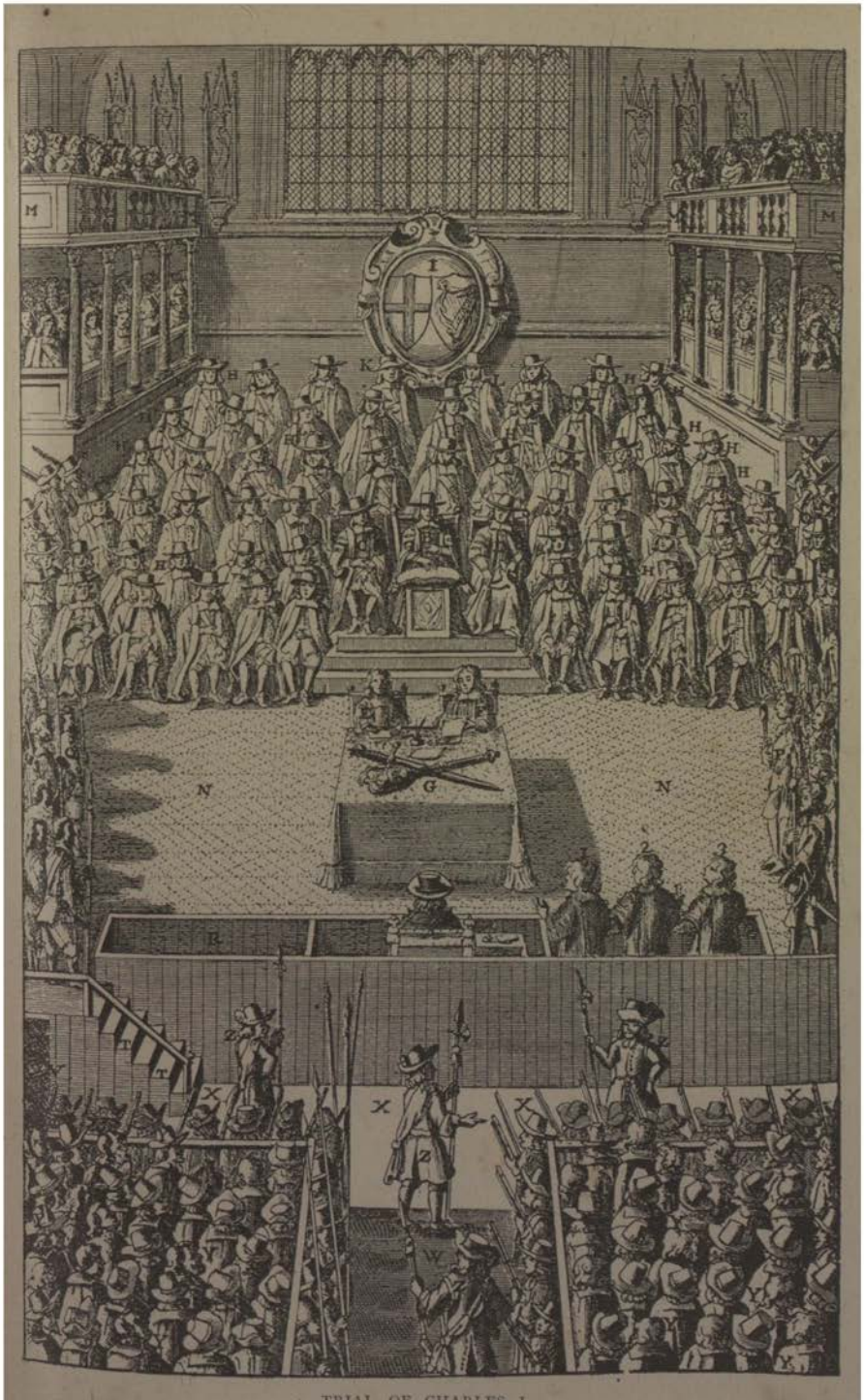
capital and grand author of our troubles, by whose commissions, commands, and procurements, and in whose behalf and for whose interest only, of will and power, all our wars and troubles have been, with all the miseries attending them, may be specially brought to justice for the treason, blood, and mischief he is therein guilty of." The demand drove the Houses to despair. Their reply was to accept the King's concessions, unimportant as they were, as a basis of peace. The step was accepted by the soldiers as a defiance: Charles was again seized by a troop of horse, and carried off to Hurst Castle, while a letter from Fairfax announced the march of his army upon London. "We shall know now," said Vane, as the troops took their post round the Houses of Parliament, "who is on the side of the King, and who on the side of the people." But the terror of the army proved weaker among the members than the agonized loyalty which strove to save the monarchy and the Church, and a large majority in both Houses still voted for the acceptance of the terms which Charles had offered. The next morning saw Colonel Pride at the door of the House of Commons with a list of forty members of the majority in his hands. The Council of Officers had resolved to exclude them, and as each member made his appearance he was arrested, and put in confinement. "By what right do you act?" a member asked. "By the right of the sword," Hugh Peters is said to have replied. The House was still resolute, but on the following morning forty more members were excluded, and the rest gave way. The sword had fallen; and the two great powers which had waged this bitter conflict, the Parliament and the Monarchy, suddenly disappeared. The expulsion of one hundred and forty members, in a word of the majority of the existing House, reduced the Commons to a name. The remnant who remained to co-operate with the army were no longer representative of the will of the country; in the coarse imagery of popular speech they were but the "rump" of a Parliament. While the House of Commons dwindled to a sham, the House of Lords passed away altogether. The effect of "Pride's Purge" was seen in a resolution of the Rump for the trial of Charles and the nomination of a Court of one hundred and fifty Commissioners to conduct it, with John Bradshaw, a lawyer of eminence, at their head. The rejection of this Ordinance by the

Nov. 30

Pride's Purge Dec. 6



TRIAL OF CHARLES I.

Nalson, "True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I.," 1684.

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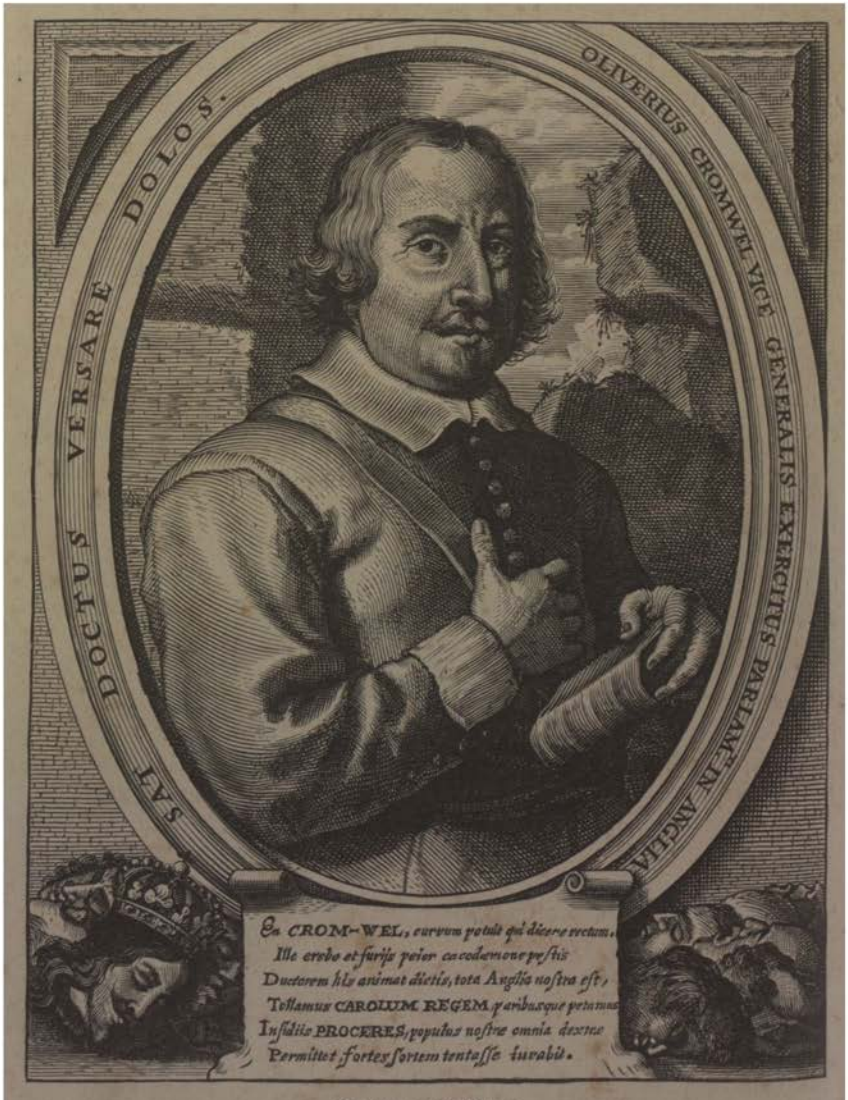
few peers who remained brought about a fresh resolution from members who remained in the Lower House, "that the People are, under God, the original of all just power; that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled—being chosen by, and representing, the People—have the supreme power in this nation; and that whatsoever is enacted and declared for law by the Commons in Parliament assembled hath the force of a law, and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King or House of Peers be not had thereunto."

The King's Death

Charles appeared before Bradshaw's Court only to deny its competence and to refuse to plead; but thirty-two witnesses were examined to satisfy the consciences of his judges, and it was not till the fifth day of the trial that he was condemned to death as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and enemy of his country. The popular excitement vented itself in cries of "Justice," or "God save your Majesty," as the trial went on, but all save the loud outcries of the soldiers was hushed as Charles passed to receive his doom. The dignity which he had failed to preserve in his long jangling with Bradshaw and the judges returned at the call of death. Whatever had been the faults and follies of his life, "he nothing common did nor mean, upon that memorable scene." Two masked executioners awaited the King as he mounted the scaffold, which had been erected outside one of the windows of the Banqueting House at Whitehall; the streets and roofs were thronged with spectators, and a strong body of soldiers stood drawn up beneath. His head fell at the first blow, and as the executioner lifted it to the sight of all a groan of pity and horror burst from the silent crowd.

Jan. 30, 1649


OLIVERIUS CROMWEL VICE GENERALIS EXERCITUS PARLAM. IN ANGLIA
SAT DOCTUS VERSARE DOLOS.
O. CROM-WEL, curvum potuit qui dicere rectum.
Ille erebo et furijs petior cacodemone pestis
Ductorem his animat dictis, tota Anglia nostra est,
Tollamus CAROLUM REGEM, patribusque potamus
Insidijs PROCERES, populus nostre omnia dextre
Permittet: fortes sortem tentasse iuvabit.

OLIVER CROMWELL.
From a contemporary Dutch engraving.

Section IX.—The Commonwealth, 1649—1653

[*Authorities.*—Rushworth's collection ceases with the King's Trial; Whitelock and Ludlow continue as before, and must be supplemented by the Parliamentary History and the State Trials. Special lives of Vane and Martyn will be found in Mr. Forster's "Statesmen of the Commonwealth," and a vigorous defence of the Council of State in the "History of the Commonwealth," by Mr. Bisset. For Irish affairs see the Ormond Papers collected by Carte, and Cromwell's despatches in Carlyle's "Letters." The account given by Mr. Carlyle of the Scotch war is perhaps the most valuable portion of his work. The foreign politics and wars of this period are admirably illustrated with a copious appendix of documents by M. Guizot ("Republic and Cromwell," vol. i.), whose account of the whole period is the fairest and best for the general reader. Mr. Hepworth Dixon has published a biography of Blake.] [Mr. Masson's "Life of Milton," vols. iv. and v., which illustrate this period, have been published since this list was drawn up.—ED.]

The Council of State

The news of the King's death was received throughout Europe with a thrill of horror. The Czar of Russia chased the English envoy from his court. The ambassador of France was withdrawn on the proclamation of the Republic. The Protestant powers of the Continent seemed more anxious than any to disavow all connexion with the Protestant people who had brought their King to the block. Holland took the lead in acts of open hostility to the new power as soon as the news of the execution reached the Hague; the States-General waited solemnly on the Prince of Wales, who took the title of Charles the Second, and recognized him as "Majesty," while they refused an audience to the English envoys. Their Stadtholder, his brother-in law, the Prince of Orange, was supported by popular sympathy in the aid and encouragement he afforded to Charles; and eleven ships of the English fleet, which had found a refuge in the Hague ever since their revolt from the Parliament, were suffered to sail under Rupert's command, and to render the seas unsafe for English traders. The danger was far greater nearer home. In Scotland Argyle and his party proclaimed Charles the Second King, and

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The Commonwealth 1649 to 1653

despatched an Embassy to the Hague to invite him to ascend the throne. In Ireland, Ormond had at last brought to some sort of union the factions who ever since the rebellion had turned the land into a chaos—the old Irish Catholics or native party under Owen Roe O'Neil, the Catholics of the English Pale, the Episcopalian Royalists, the Presbyterian Royalists of the north; and Ormond called on Charles to land at once in a country where he would find three-fourths of its people devoted to his cause. Nor was the danger from without met by resolution and energy on the part of the diminished Parliament which remained the sole depositary of legal powers. The Commons entered on their new task with hesitation and delay. Six weeks passed after the King's execution before the monarchy was formally abolished, and the government of the nation provided for by the creation of a Council of State consisting of forty-one members selected from the Commons, who were entrusted with full executive power at home or abroad. Two months more elapsed before the passing of the memorable Act which declared "that the People of England and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging are, and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established, and confirmed to be a Commonwealth and Free State, and shall henceforward be governed as a Commonwealth and Free State by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the People in Parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute officers and ministers for the good of the people, and that without any King or House of Lords."

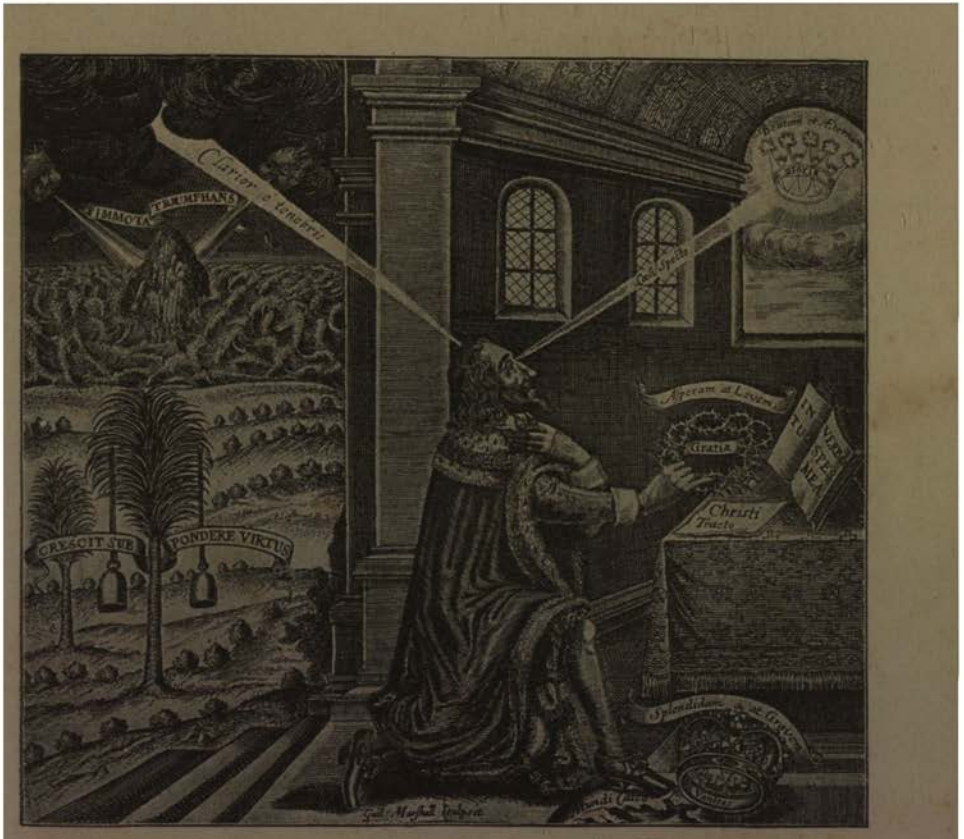
Abolition of Monarchy

May 19

The Rump and the Army

Of the dangers which threatened the new Commonwealth some were more apparent than real. The rivalry of France and Spain, both anxious for its friendship, secured it from the hostility of the greater powers of the Continent; and the ill-will of Holland could be delayed, if not averted, by negotiations. The acceptance of the Covenant was insisted on by Scotland before it would formally receive Charles as its ruler, and nothing but necessity would induce him to comply with such a demand. On the side of Ireland the danger was more pressing, and an army of twelve thousand men was set apart for a vigorous prosecution of the Irish war. But the real difficulties were the difficulties at home. The death of Charles gave fresh vigour to the royalist cause,

and the new loyalty was stirred to enthusiasm by the publication of the "Eikon Basilike," a work really due to the ingenuity of Dr. Gauden, a Presbyterian minister, but which was believed to have been composed by the King himself in his later hours of captivity, and which reflected with admirable skill the hopes,



FRONTISPIECE OF "EIKON BASILIKE," 1648.

the suffering, and the piety of the royal "martyr." The dreams of a rising were roughly checked by the execution of the Duke of Hamilton and Lords Holland and Capell, who had till now been confined in the Tower. But the popular disaffection told even on the Council of State. A majority of its members declined the oath offered to them at their earliest meeting, pledging them

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to an approval of the King's death and the establishment of the Commonwealth. Half the judges retired from the bench. Thousands of refusals met the demand of an engagement to be faithful to the Republic which was made to all beneficed clergymen and public functionaries. It was not till May, and even then in spite of the ill-will of the citizens, that the Council ventured to proclaim the Commonwealth in London. The army indeed had no thought of setting up a mere military rule. Still less did it contemplate leaving the conduct of affairs to the small body of members which still called itself the House of Commons, a body which numbered hardly a hundred, and whose average attendance was little more than fifty. In reducing it by "Pride's Purge" to the mere shadow of a House the army had never dreamed of its continuance as a permanent assembly; it had, in fact, insisted as a condition of even its temporary continuance that it should prepare a bill for the summoning of a fresh Parliament. The plan put forward by the Council of Officers is still interesting as the basis of many later efforts towards parliamentary reform. It advised a dissolution in the spring, the assembling every two years of a new Parliament consisting of four hundred members elected by all householders rateable to the poor, and a redistribution of seats which would have given the privilege of representation to every place of importance. Paid military officers and civil officials were excluded from election. The plan was apparently accepted by the Commons, and a bill based on it was again and again discussed, but there was a suspicion that no serious purpose of its own dissolution was entertained by the House. The popular discontent found a mouthpiece in John Lilburne, a brave, hot-headed soldier, and the excitement of the army appeared suddenly in a formidable mutiny in May. "You must cut these people in pieces," Cromwell broke out in the Council of State, "or they will cut you in pieces;" and a forced march of fifty miles to Burford enabled him to burst on the mutinous regiments at midnight, and to stamp out the revolt. But resolute as he was against disorder, Cromwell went honestly with the army in its demand of a new Parliament; he believed, and in his harangue to the mutineers he pledged himself to the assertion, that the House proposed to dissolve itself. Within the House, however, a vigorous

knot of politicians was resolved to prolong its existence; in a witty paraphrase of the story of Moses, Henry Martyn was soon to picture the Commonwealth as a new-born and delicate babe, and hint that "no one is so proper to bring it up as the mother who has brought it into the world." As yet, however, their intentions were kept secret, and in spite of the delays thrown in the way of the bill for a new Representative body Cromwell entertained no serious suspicion of the Parliament's design, when *Aug.* 1649 he was summoned to Ireland by a series of royalist successes which left only Dublin in the hands of the Parliamentary forces.

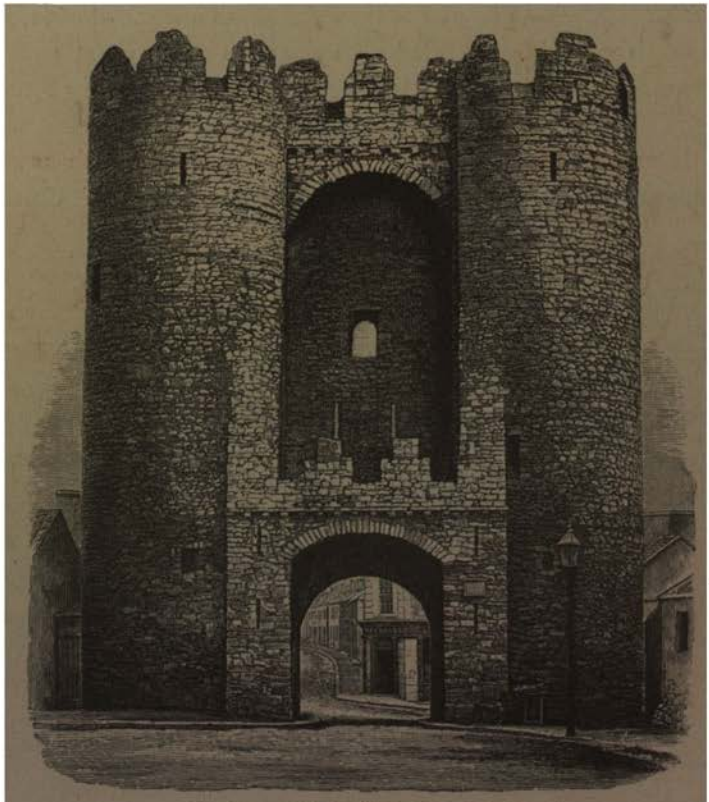
The Conquest of Ireland

With Scotland threatening war, and a naval struggle impending with Holland, it was necessary that the work of the army in Ireland should be done quickly. The temper, too, of Cromwell

DROGHEDA.
Drawing, c. 1680, in British Museum.

and his soldiers was one of vengeance, for the horror of the Irish massacre remained living in every English breast, and the revolt was looked upon as a continuance of the massacre. "We are come," he said on his landing, "to ask an account of the innocent blood that hath been shed, and to endeavour to bring to an account all who by appearing in arms shall justify the same." A sortie from Dublin had already broken up Ormond's siege of the capital; and feeling himself powerless to keep the field before the new army, the Marquis had thrown his best troops, three thousand Englishmen under Sir Arthur Aston, as a garrison into Drogheda. The storm of Drogheda by Cromwell was the first *Sept.* 1649

of a series of awful massacres. The garrison fought bravely, and repulsed the first attack; but a second drove Aston and his force back to the Mill-Mount. "Our men getting up to them," ran Cromwell's terrible despatch, "were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of



S. LAURENCE'S GATE, DROGHEDA.

action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to death about two thousand men." A few fled to St. Peter's Church, "whereupon I ordered the steeple to be fired, where one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: 'God damn me, I burn, I burn.'" "In the church itself nearly one thousand were put to the sword.

I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two," but these were the sole exceptions to the rule of killing soldiers only. At a later time Cromwell challenged his enemies to give "an instance of one man since my coming into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed, or banished." But for soldiers who refused to surrender on summons there was no mercy. Of the remnant who were driven to yield at last through hunger "when they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for

REGINALD'S TOWER, WATERFORD.
After W. H. Bartlett.

the Barbadoes." "I am persuaded," the despatch ends, "that this is a righteous judgement of God upon these barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future." A detachment sufficed to relieve Derry, and to quiet Ulster; and Cromwell turned to the south, where as stout a defence was followed by as terrible a massacre at Wexford. A fresh success at Ross brought him to Waterford; but the city held stubbornly out, disease thinned his army, where there was scarce an officer

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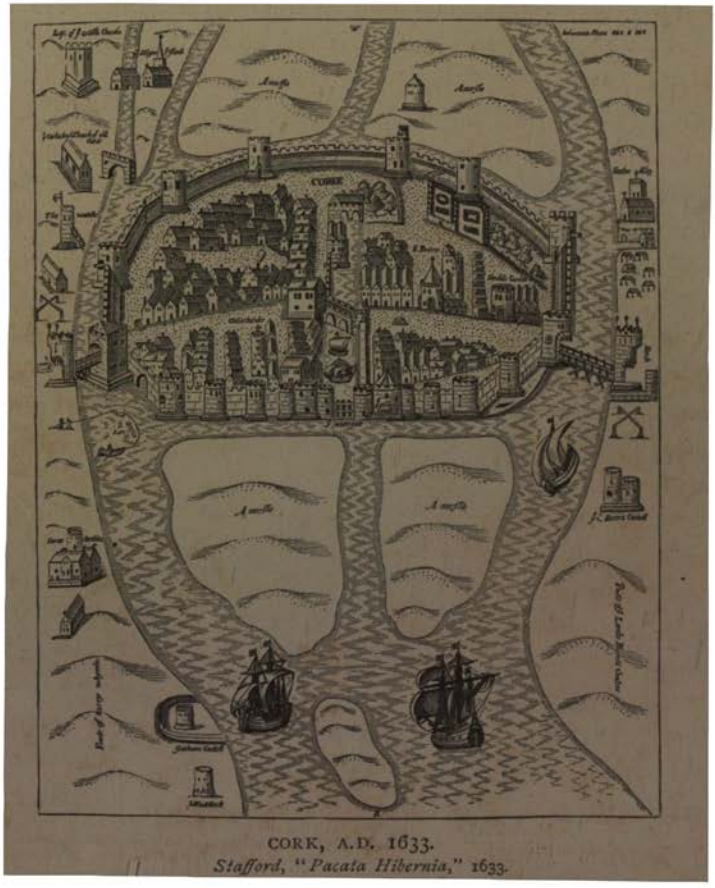
who had not been sick, and the general himself was arrested by illness. At last the tempestuous weather drove him into winter quarters at Cork with his work half done. The winter was one of terrible anxiety. The Parliament was showing less and less inclination to dissolve itself, and was meeting the growing dis-



CORK, A.D. 1633.
Stafford, "Pacata Hibernia," 1633.

content by a stricter censorship of the press, and a fruitless prosecution of John Lilburne. English commerce was being ruined by the piracies of Rupert's fleet, which now anchored at Kinsale to support the royalist cause in Ireland. The energy of Vane indeed had already re-created a navy, squadrons of which

were being despatched into the British seas, the Mediterranean, and the Levant, and Colonel Blake, who had distinguished himself by his heroic defence of Taunton during the war, was placed at the head of a fleet which drove Rupert from the Irish coast, and finally blockaded him in the Tagus. But even the energy of Vane quailed before the danger from the Scots. "One must go and die there," the young King cried at the news of Ormond's defeat before Dublin, "for it is shameful for me to live elsewhere." But his ardour for an Irish campaign cooled as Cromwell marched from victory to victory; and from the isle of Jersey, which alone remained faithful to him of all his southern dominions, Charles renewed the negotiations with Scotland which his hopes from Ireland had broken. They were again delayed by a proposal on the part of Montrose to attack the very Government with whom his master was negotiating; but the failure and death of the Marquis in the spring forced Charles to accept the Presbyterian conditions. The news of the negotiations filled the English leaders with dismay, for Scotland was raising an army, and Fairfax, while willing to defend England against a Scotch invasion, scrupled to take the lead in an invasion of Scotland. The Council recalled Cromwell from Ireland, but his cooler head saw that there was yet time to finish his work in the west. During the winter he had been busily preparing for a new campaign, and it was only after the storm of Clonmell, and the overthrow of the Irish under Hugh O'Neil, that he embarked again for England.

Charles and the Scots

1650

Cromwell entered London amidst the shouts of a great multitude; and a month after Charles had landed on the shores of Scotland the English army started for the north. It crossed the Tweed, fifteen thousand men strong; but the terror of his massacres in Ireland hung round its leader, the country was deserted as he advanced, and he was forced to cling for provisions to a fleet which sailed along the coast. David Leslie, with a larger force, refused battle and lay obstinately in his lines between Edinburgh and Leith. A march of the English army round his position to the slopes of the Pentlands only brought about a change of the Scottish front; and as Cromwell fell back baffled upon Dunbar, Leslie encamped upon the heights above the town, and cut off the English retreat along the coast by the seizure of

Dunbar and Worcester

July 1650

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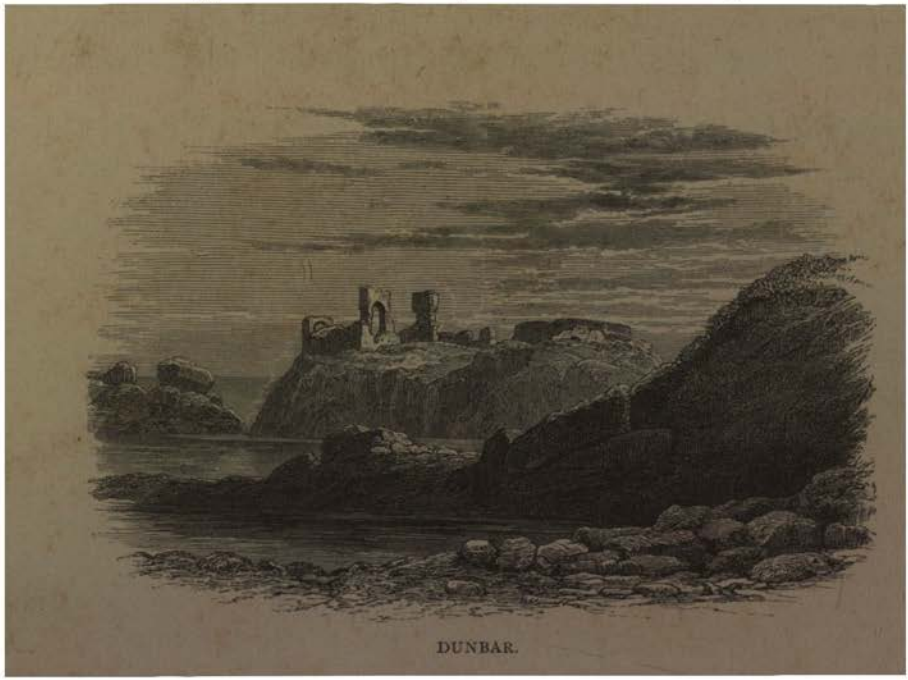
Dunbar Sept. 3

Cockburns-path. His post was almost unassailable, while the soldiers of Cromwell were sick and starving; and their general had resolved on an embarcation of his forces, when he saw in the dusk of evening signs of movement in the Scottish camp. Leslie's caution had at last been overpowered by the zeal of the preachers, and his army moved down to the lower ground between the hillside on which it was encamped and a little brook which covered the English front. His horse was far in advance of the main body, and it had hardly reached the level ground when



DUNBAR.

Cromwell in the dim dawn flung his whole force upon it. "They run; I profess they run!" he cried as the Scotch horse broke after a desperate resistance, and threw into confusion the foot who were hurrying to its aid. Then, as the sun rose over the mist of the morning, he added in nobler words: "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered! Like as the mist vanisheth, so shalt Thou drive them away!" In less than an hour the victory was complete. The defeat at once became a rout; ten thousand prisoners were taken, with all the baggage and guns; three

thousand were slain, with scarce any loss on the part of the conquerors. Leslie reached Edinburgh, a general without an army. The effect of Dunbar was at once seen in the attitude of the Continental powers. Spain hastened to recognize the Republic, and Holland offered its alliance. But Cromwell was watching with anxiety the growing discontent at home. The general amnesty claimed by Ireton, and the bill for the Parliament's dissolution, still hung on hand ; the reform of the courts of justice, which had been pressed by the army, failed before the obstacles thrown in its way by the lawyers in the Commons. "Relieve the oppressed," Cromwell wrote from Dunbar, "hear the groans of poor prisoners. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all

MEDAL TO COMMEMORATE THE VICTORY AT DUNBAR.
Made by Thomas Simon; the design suggested by Cromwell.

professions. If there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth." But the House was seeking to turn the current of public opinion in favour of its own continuance by a great diplomatic triumph. It resolved secretly on the wild project of bringing about a union between England and Holland, and it took advantage of Cromwell's victory to despatch Oliver St. John with a stately embassy to the Hague. His rejection of an alliance and Treaty of Commerce which the Dutch offered was followed by the disclosure of the English proposal of union, but the proposal was at once refused. The envoys, who returned angrily to the Parliament, attributed their failure to the posture of affairs in Scotland, where Charles was pre-

Break with Holland

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paring for a new campaign. Humiliation after humiliation had been heaped on Charles since he landed in his northern realm. He had subscribed to the Covenant; he had listened to sermons and scoldings from the ministers; he had been called on to sign a declaration that acknowledged the tyranny of his father and the idolatry of his mother. Hardened and shameless as he was, the young King for a moment recoiled. "I could never look my

THE SCOTS HOLDING THEIR YOVNG KINGES NOSE TO Y GRINSTO
Come to the Grinstone Charles He now to Taste
To Recolect his presbiterian fate
You Covnant pretenders must Thee
The Subject of Power Tradgie Comedie
Stoope Charles
Jockie

"THE SCOTS HOLDING THEIR YOUNG KING'S NOSE TO THE GRINDSTONE."
Broadside, 1651, in British Museum.

mother in the face again," he cried, "after signing such a paper;" but he signed. He was still, however, a King only in name, shut out from the Council and the army, with his friends excluded from all part in government or the war. But he was at once freed by the victory of Dunbar. "I believe the King will set up on his own score now," Cromwell wrote after his victory. With the overthrow of Leslie fell the power of Argyle and the narrow Presbyterians

whom he led. Hamilton, the brother and successor of the Duke who had been captured at Preston, brought back the royalists to the camp, and Charles insisted on taking part in the Council and on being crowned at Scone. Master of Edinburgh, but foiled in an attack on Stirling, Cromwell waited through the winter and the long spring, while intestine feuds broke up the nation opposed to him, and while the stricter Covenanters retired sulkily from the

CROWNING OF CHARLES II. AT SCONE.
"*Koninclijcke Beltenis van Karel de II.*," *Dordrecht*, 1661.

royal army on the return of the "Malignants," the royalists of the earlier war, to its ranks. With summer the campaign recommenced, but Leslie again fell back on his system of positions, and Cromwell, finding the Scotch camp at Stirling unassailable, crossed into Fife and left the road open to the south. The bait was taken. In spite of Leslie's counsels Charles resolved to invade England, and was soon in full march through Lancashire upon the

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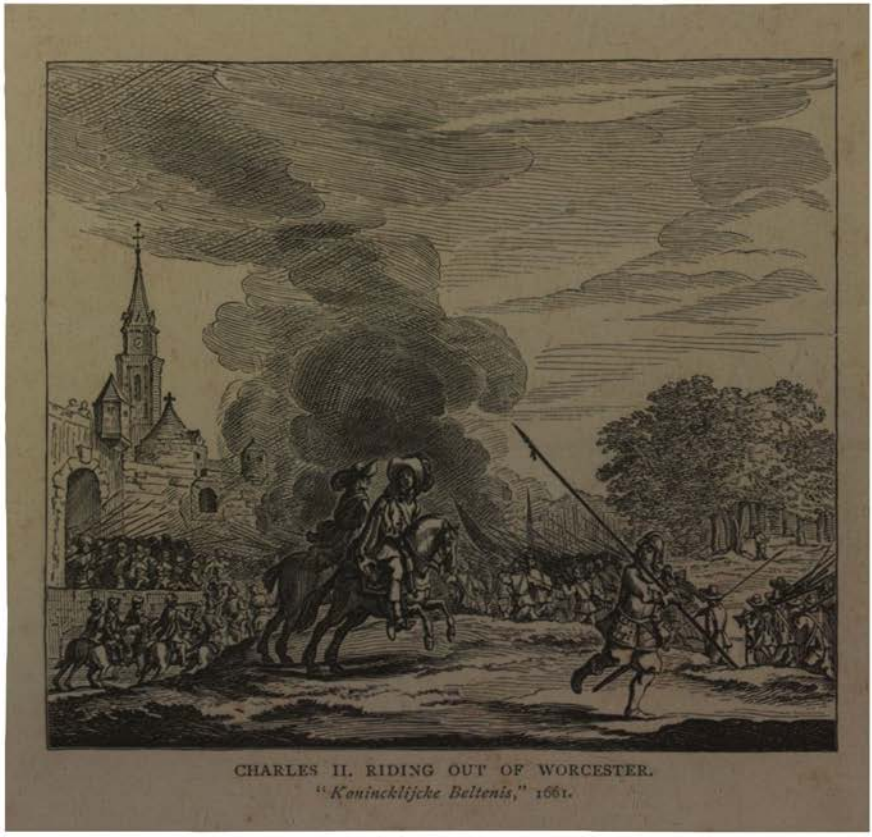
Severn, with the English horse under Lambert hanging on his rear, and the English foot hastening by York and Coventry to close the road to London. "We have done to the best of our judgement," Cromwell replied to the angry alarm of the Parliament, "knowing that if some issue were not put to this business it would occasion another winter's war." At Coventry he learnt Charles's position,

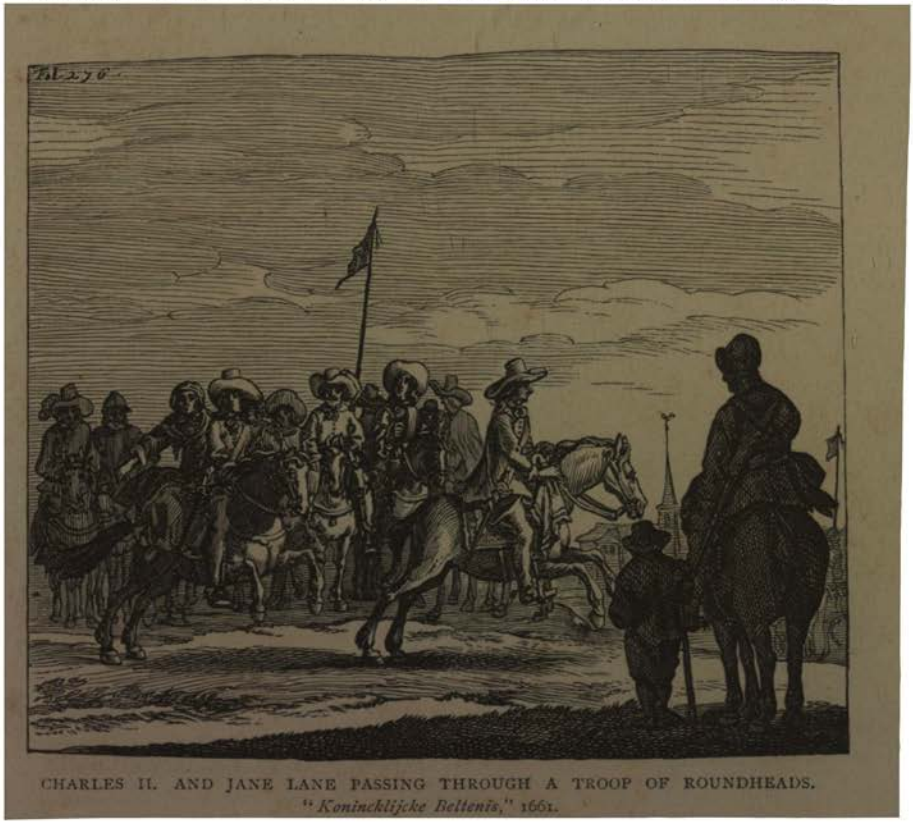
Worcester Sept. 3, 1651



CHARLES II. RIDING OUT OF WORCESTER.
"*Koninckl*ijcke *Beltenis*," 1661.

and swept round by Evesham upon Worcester, where the Scotch King was encamped. Throwing half his force across the river, Cromwell attacked the town on both sides on the anniversary of his victory at Dunbar. He led the van in person, and was "the first to set foot on the enemy's ground." When Charles descended from the cathedral tower to fling himself on the eastern division, Cromwell hurried back across the Severn, and was soon "riding in the midst of the fire." For four or five hours, he told the Parlia-

ment, "it was as stiff a contest as ever I have seen;" the Scots, outnumbered and beaten into the city, gave no answer but shot to offers of quarter, and it was not till nightfall that all was over. The loss of the victors was as usual inconsiderable. The conquered lost six thousand men, and all their baggage and artillery. Leslie was among the prisoners: Hamilton among the

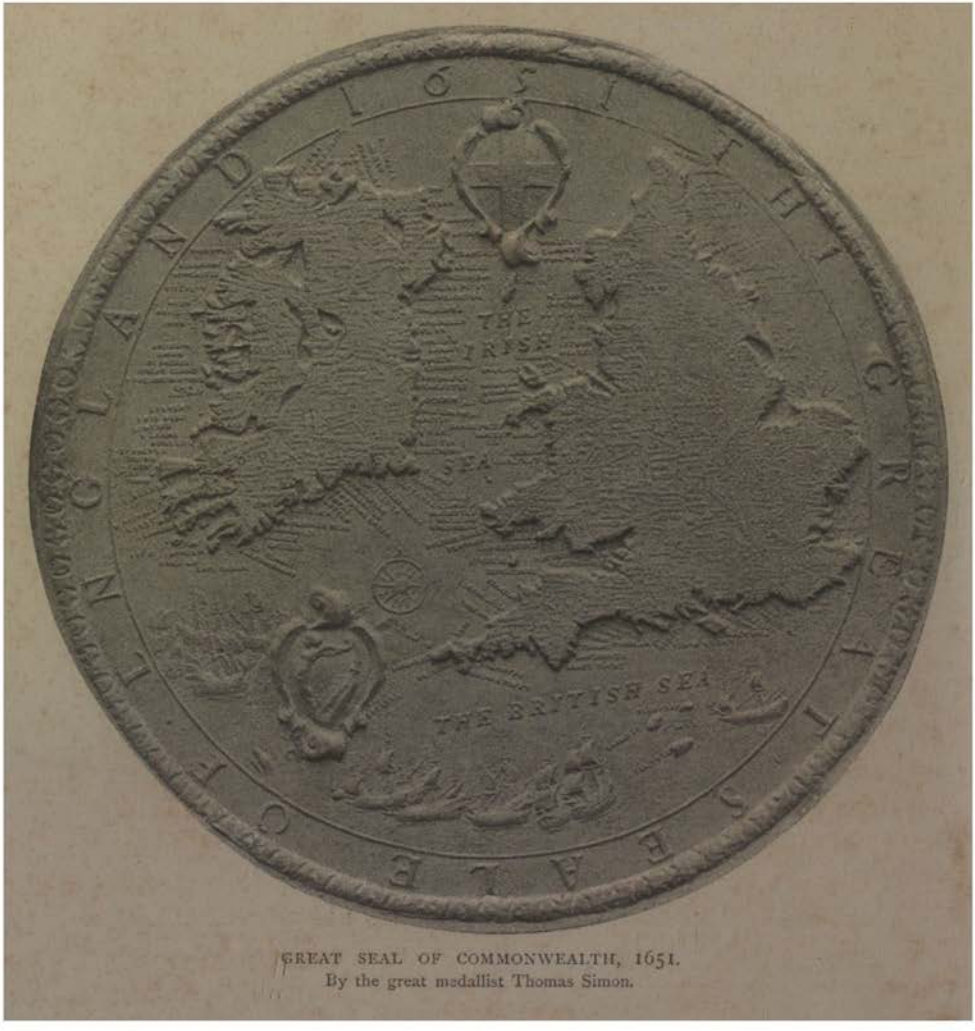


CHARLES II. AND JANE LANE PASSING THROUGH A TROOP OF ROUNDHEADS.
"*Koninchlijcke Beltenis*," 1661.

dead. Charles himself fled from the field; and after months of wanderings made his escape to France.

The Dutch War

"Now that the King is dead and his son defeated," Cromwell said gravely to the Parliament, "I think it necessary to come to a settlement." But the settlement which had been promised after Naseby was still as distant as ever after Worcester. The bill for dissolving the present Parliament, though Cromwell pressed it in person, was only passed, after bitter opposition, by a majority of



GREAT SEAL OF COMMONWEALTH, 1651.
By the great medallist Thomas Simon.

GREAT SEAL OF COMMONWEALTH, 1651.
The nation represented by the House of Commons.

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two; and even this success had been purchased by a compromise which permitted the House to sit for three years more. Internal affairs were almost at a dead lock. The Parliament appointed committees to prepare plans for legal reforms, or for ecclesiastical reforms, but it did nothing to carry them into effect. It was overpowered by the crowd of affairs which the confusion of the war had thrown into its hands, by confiscations, sequestrations, appointments to civil and military offices, in fact, the whole administration of the state; and there were times when it was driven to a resolve not to take any private affairs for weeks together in order that it might make some progress with public business. To add to this confusion and muddle there were the inevitable scandals which arose from it; charges of malversation and corruption were hurled at the members of the House; and some, like Haselrig, were accused with justice of using their power to further their own interests. The one remedy for all this was, as the army saw, the assembly of a new and complete Parliament in place of the mere "rump" of the old; but this was the one measure which the House was resolute to avert. Vane spurred it to a new activity. The Amnesty Bill was forced through after fifteen divisions. A Grand Committee, with Sir Matthew Hale at its head, was appointed to consider the reform of the law. A union with Scotland was pushed resolutely forward; eight English Commissioners convoked a Convention of delegates from its counties and boroughs at Edinburgh, and in spite of dogged opposition procured a vote in favour of the proposal. A bill was

LIGHT HORSEMAN.
Temp. Oliver Cromwell.
Figure in collection of Captain Orde Browne.

Activity of the Parliament 1652

introduced which gave legal form to the union, and admitted representatives from Scotland into the next Parliament. A similar plan was proposed for a union with Ireland. But it was necessary for Vane's purposes not only to show the energy of the Parliament, but to free it from the control of the army. His aim was to raise in the navy a force devoted to the House, and to

DUTCH SHIPS (SAILING UNDER SPANISH COLOURS) CAPTURED IN 1652.
Satirical Print in British Museum.

eclipse the glories of Dunbar and Worcester by yet greater triumphs at sea. With this view the quarrel with Holland had been carefully nursed; a "Navigation Act" prohibiting the importation in foreign vessels of any but the products of the countries to which they belonged struck a fatal blow at the carrying trade from which the Dutch drew their wealth; and fresh

War with Holland

"IMPOTENT AMBITION SHEWN TO THE LIFE IN THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND."

Dutch Satire on Cromwell, 1632.

debates arose from the English claim to salutes from all vessels in the Channel. The two fleets met before Dover, and a summons from Blake to lower the Dutch flag was met by the Dutch admiral, Tromp, with a broadside. The States-General attributed the collision to accident, and offered to recall Tromp; but the English demands rose at each step in the negotiations till war

ADMIRAL MARTIN TROMP.
From an engraving by Sniderhoef, after H. Pott.

became inevitable. The army hardly needed the warning conveyed by the introduction of a bill for its disbanding to understand the new policy of the Parliament. It was significant that while accepting the bill for its own dissolution the House had as yet prepared no plan for the assembly which was to follow it; and the Dutch war had hardly been declared when, abandoning

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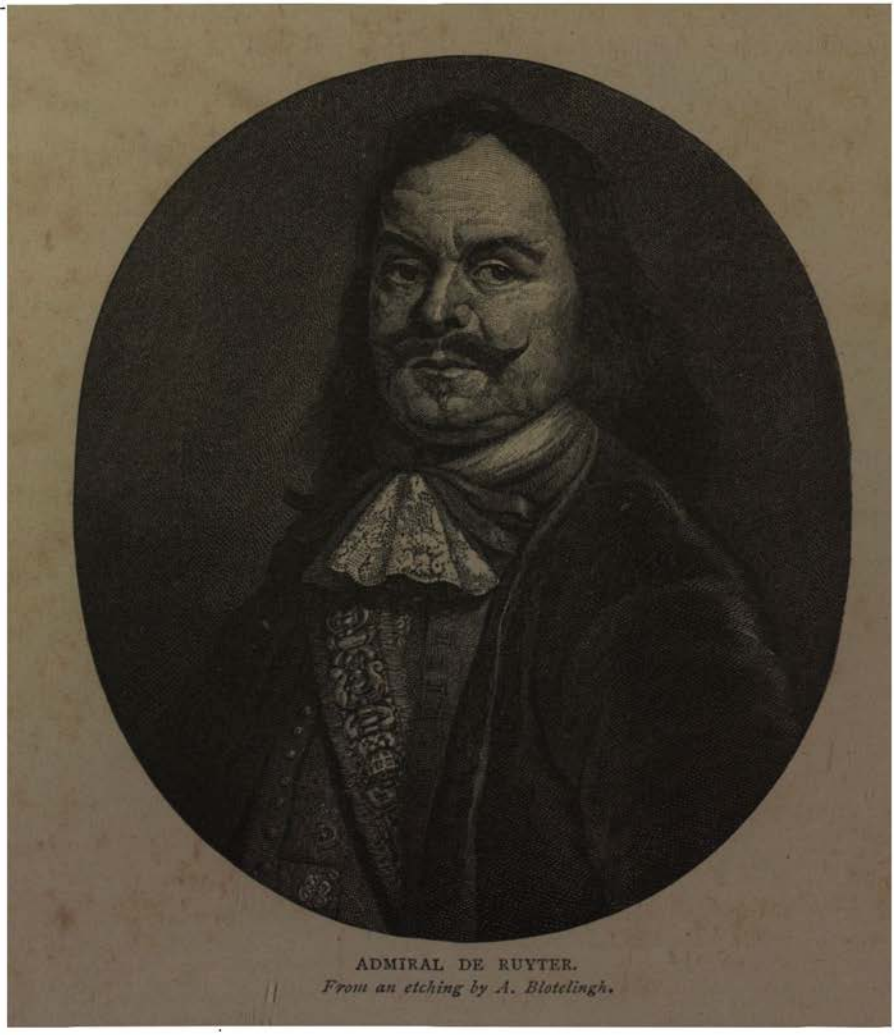
the attitude of inaction which it had observed since the beginning of the Commonwealth, the army petitioned, not only for reform in Church and State, but for an explicit declaration that the House would bring its proceedings to a close. The Petition forced the



ADMIRAL DE RUYTER.
From an etching by A. Blotelingh.

House to discuss a bill for "a New Representative," but the discussion soon brought out the resolve of the sitting members to continue as a part of the coming Parliament without re-election. The officers, irritated by such a claim, demanded in conference after conference an immediate dissolution, and the House as

resolutely refused. In ominous words Cromwell supported the demand of the army. "As for the members of this Parliament, the army begins to take them in disgust. I would it did so with less reason." There was just ground, he urged, for discontent in their selfish greed of houses and lands, the scandalous lives of many, their partiality as judges, their interference with the ordinary course of law in matters of private interest, their delay of

ADMIRAL BLAKE.
From an engraving by T. Preston, c. 1730, of a picture then in the possession of J. Ames.

law reform, above all in their manifest design of perpetuating their own power. "There is little to hope for from such men," he ended with a return to his predominant thought, "for a settlement of the nation."

The Ejection of the Rump

For the moment the crisis was averted by the events of the war. A terrible storm had separated the two fleets when on the point of engaging in the Orkneys, but De Ruyter and Blake met

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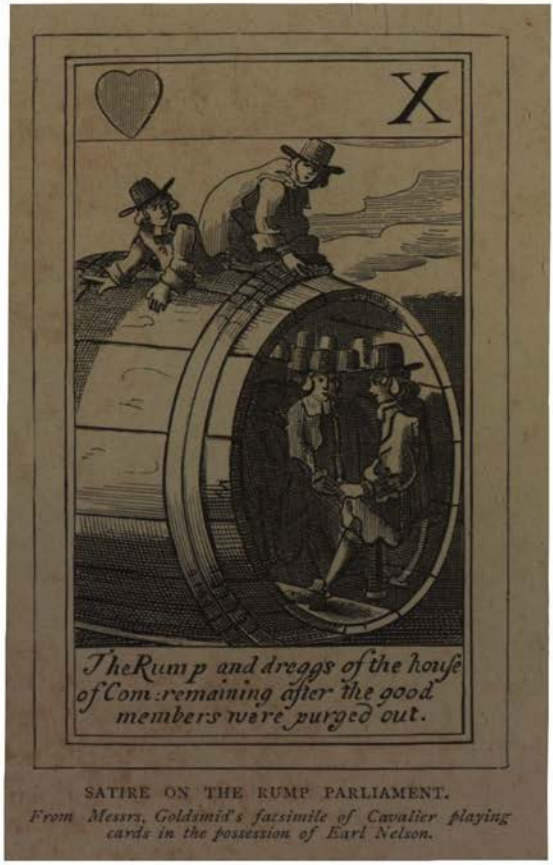
again in the Channel, and after a fierce struggle the Dutch were forced to retire under cover of night. Since the downfall of Spain Holland had been the first naval power in the world, and the spirit of the nation rose gallantly with its earliest defeat. Immense efforts were made to strengthen the fleet, and the veteran, Tromp, who was replaced at its head, appeared in the Channel with seventy-three ships of war. Blake had but half the number, but he at once accepted the challenge, and the unequal fight went on doggedly till nightfall, when the English fleet withdrew shattered into the Thames. Tromp swept the Channel in triumph,

Blake

MEDAL COMMEMORATING BLAKE'S VICTORIES.

with a broom at his masthead; and the tone of the Commons lowered with the defeat of their favourite force. A compromise seems to have been arranged between the two parties, for the bill providing a new Representative was again pushed on, and the Parliament agreed to retire in the coming November, while Cromwell offered no opposition to a reduction of the army. But the courage of the House rose afresh with a turn of fortune. The strenuous efforts of Blake enabled him again to put to sea in a few months after his defeat, and a running fight through four days ended at last in an English victory, though Tromp's fine seamanship enabled him to save the convoy he was guarding. The

House at once insisted on the retention of its power. Not only were the existing members to continue as members of the new Parliament, depriving the places they represented of their right of choosing representatives, but they were to constitute a Committee of Revision, to determine the validity of each election, and the fitness of the members returned. A conference took place between *Feb.* 1653 the leaders of the Commons and the Officers of the Army, who resolutely demanded not only the omission of these clauses, but that the Parliament should at once dissolve itself, and commit the new elections to the Council of State. "Our charge," retorted Haselrig, "cannot be transferred to any one." The conference was adjourned till the next morning, on an understanding that no decisive step should be taken: but it had no sooner re-assembled than the absence of the leading members confirmed the news that Vane was fast pressing the bill for a new Representative through the House. "It is contrary to common honesty," Cromwell angrily broke out; and, quitting Whitehall, he summoned a company of musketeers to follow him as far as the door of the Commons. He sate down quietly in his place, "clad in plain grey clothes and grey worsted stockings," and listened to Vane's passionate arguments. *April* 20, 1653 "I am come to do what grieves me to the heart," he said to



SATIRE ON THE RUMP PARLIAMENT.
From Messrs. Goldsmid's facsimile of Cavalier playing cards in the possession of Earl Nelson.

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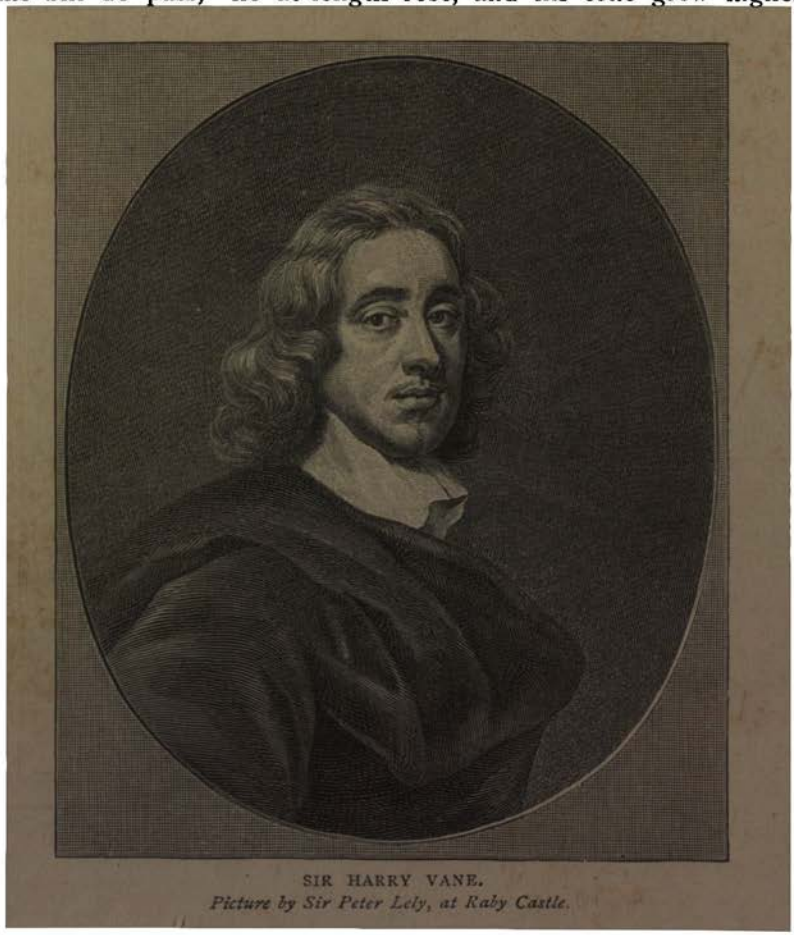
his neighbour, St. John; but he still remained quiet, till Vane pressed the House to waive its usual forms and pass the bill at once. "The time has come," he said to Harrison. "Think well," replied Harrison, "it is a dangerous work!" and Cromwell listened for another quarter of an hour. At the question "that this bill do pass," he at length rose, and his tone grew higher

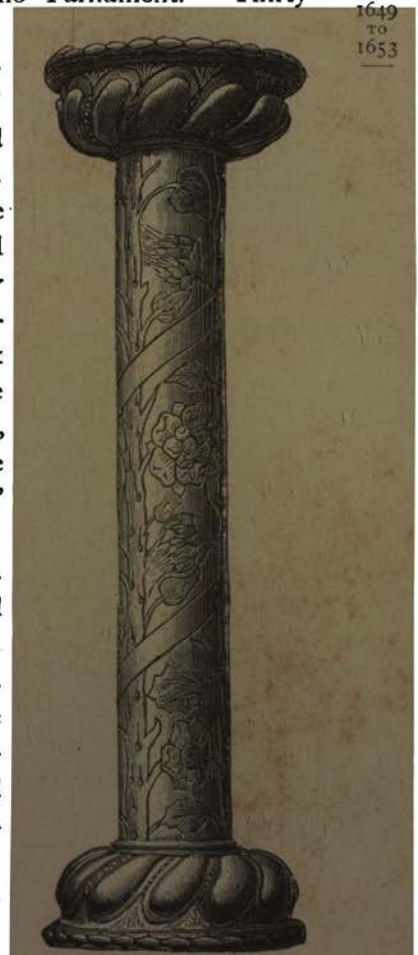


SIR HARRY VANE.
Picture by Sir Peter Lely, at Raby Castle.

as he repeated his former charges of injustice, self-interest, and delay. "Your hour is come," he ended, "the Lord hath done with you!" A crowd of members started to their feet in angry protest. "Come, come," replied Cromwell, "we have had enough of this;" and striding into the midst of the chamber, he clapt his hat on his head, and exclaimed, "I will put an end to your prating!" In

The Parliament driven out

the din that followed his voice was heard in broken sentences—"It is not fit that you should sit here any longer! You should give place to better men! You are no Parliament." Thirty musketeers entered at a sign from their General, and the fifty members present crowded to the door. "Drunkard!" Cromwell broke out as Wentworth passed him; and Martin was taunted with a yet coarser name. Vane, fearless to the last, told him his act was "against all right and all honour." "Ah, Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane," Cromwell retorted in bitter indignation at the trick he had been played, "you might have prevented all this, but you are a juggler, and have no common honesty! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" The Speaker refused to quit his seat, till Harrison offered to "lend him a hand to come down." Cromwell lifted the mace from the table. "What shall we do with this bauble?" he said. "Take it away!" The door of the House was locked at last, and the dispersion of the Parliament was followed a few hours after by that of its executive committee, the Council of State. Cromwell himself summoned them to withdraw. "We have heard," replied the President, John Bradshaw, "what you have done this morning at the House, and in some hours all England will hear it. But you mistake, sir, if you think the Parliament dissolved. No power on earth can dissolve the Parliament but itself, be sure of that!"



OLD SHAFT OF MACE OF HOUSE OF COMMONS.
Antiquary.

CROMWELL EXPELLING THE PARLIAMENT, 1653.

Satirical Dutch print, in British Museum.

Section X.—The Fall of Puritanism, 1653—1660

[*Authorities.*—Many of the works mentioned before are still valuable, but the real key to the history of this period lies in Cromwell's remarkable series of Speeches (Carlyle, "Letters and Speeches," vol. iii.). Thurlow's State Papers furnish an immense mass of documents. For the Second Parliament of the Protector we have Burton's "Diary." For the Restoration, M. Guizot's "Richard Cromwell and the Restoration," Ludlow's "Memoirs," Baxter's "Autobiography," and the minute and accurate account given by Clarendon himself.]

The Puritan Convention

The dispersion of the Parliament and of the Council of State left England without a government, for the authority of every official ended with that of the body from which his power was derived. Cromwell, in fact, as Captain-General of the forces, was forced to recognize his responsibility for the maintenance of public order. But no thought of military despotism can be fairly traced in the acts of the general or the army. They were in fact far from regarding their position as a revolutionary one. Though incapable of justification on any formal ground, their proceedings since the establishment of the Commonwealth had as yet been substantially in vindication of the rights of the country to representation and self-government; and public opinion had gone fairly with the army in its demand for a full and efficient body of representatives, as well as in its resistance to the project by which the Rump would have deprived half England of its right of election. It was only when no other means existed of preventing such a wrong that the soldiers had driven out the wrongdoers. "It is you that have forced me to this," Cromwell exclaimed, as he drove the members from the House; "I have sought the Lord night and day that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work." The act was one of violence to the members of the House, but the act which it aimed at preventing was one of violence on their part to the constitutional rights of the whole nation. The people had in fact been "dissatisfied in every corner of the realm" at the state of public affairs: and the expulsion of the members was ratified by a general assent. "We did not hear a dog bark at their going," the Protector said years afterwards. Whatever anxiety may have

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been felt at the use which was like to be made of "the power of the sword," was in great part dispelled by a proclamation of the officers. Their one anxiety was "not to grasp the power ourselves nor to keep it in military hands, no not for a day," and their promise to "call to the government men of approved fidelity and honesty" was to some extent redeemed by the nomination of a provisional Council of State, consisting of eight officers of high rank and four civilians, with Cromwell as their head, and a seat in which was offered, though fruitlessly, to Vane. The first business of such a body was clearly to summon a new Parliament and to resign its trust into its hands: but the bill for Parliamentary reform had dropped with the expulsion: and reluctant as the Council was to summon a new Parliament on the old basis of election, it shrank from the responsibility of effecting so fundamental a change as the creation of a new basis by its own authority. It was this difficulty which led to the expedient of a Constituent Convention. Cromwell told the story of this unlucky assembly some years after with an amusing frankness. "I will come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly. And yet it was done in my simplicity—I dare avow it was. . . . It was thought then that men of our own judgment, who had fought in the wars, and were all of a piece on that account—why, surely, these men will hit it, and these men will do it to the purpose, whatever can be desired! And surely we did think, and I did think so—the more blame to me!" Of the hundred and fifty-six men, "faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness," whose names were selected for this purpose by the Council of State, from lists furnished by the congregational churches, the bulk were men, like Ashley Cooper, of good blood and "free estates;" and the proportion of burgesses, such as the leather-merchant, Praise-God Barebones, whose name was eagerly seized on as a nickname for the body to which he belonged, seems to have been much the same as in earlier Parliaments. But the circumstances of their choice told fatally on the temper of its members. Cromwell himself, in the burst of rugged eloquence with which he welcomed their assembling, was carried away by a strange enthusiasm. "Convince the nation," he said, "that as men fearing God have fought them out of their bondage under the regal power, so men fearing God do now rule

The Barebones Parliament *July* 1653

them in the fear of God. . . . Own your call, for it is of God; indeed, it is marvellous, and it hath been unprojected. . . . Never was a supreme power under such a way of owning God, and being owned by Him." A spirit yet more enthusiastic appeared in the proceedings of the Convention itself. The resignation of their powers by Cromwell and the Council into its hands left it the one supreme authority; but by the instrument which convoked it provision had been made that this authority should be transferred in fifteen months to another assembly elected according to its directions. Its work was, in fact, to be that of a constituent assembly, paving the way for a Parliament on a really national basis. But the Convention put the largest construction on its commission, and boldly undertook the whole task of constitutional reform. Committees were appointed to consider the needs of the Church and the nation. The spirit of economy and honesty which pervaded the assembly appeared in its redress of the extravagance which prevailed in the civil service, and of the inequality of taxation. With a remarkable energy it undertook a host of reforms, for whose execution England has had to wait to our own day. The Long Parliament had shrunk from any reform of the Court of Chancery, where twenty-three thousand cases were waiting unheard. The Convention proposed its abolition. The work of compiling a single code of laws, begun under the Long Parliament by a committee with Sir Matthew Hale at its head, was again pushed forward. The frenzied alarm which these bold measures aroused among the lawyer class was soon backed by that of the clergy, who saw their wealth menaced by the establishment of civil marriage, and by proposals to substitute the free contributions of congregations for the payment of tithes. The landed proprietors too rose against the scheme for the abolition of lay-patronage, which was favoured by the Convention, and predicted an age of confiscation. The "Barebones Parliament," as the assembly was styled in derision, was charged with a design to ruin property, the Church, and the law, with enmity to knowledge, and a blind and ignorant fanaticism. Cromwell himself shared the general uneasiness at its proceedings. His mind was that of an administrator, rather than that of a statesman, unspeculative, deficient in foresight, conservative, and eminently practical. He saw the need of

The work of the Convention

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administrative reform in Church and State; but he had no sympathy whatever with the revolutionary theories which were filling the air around him. His desire was for "a settlement" which

A ROPER AND A CORDWAINER.
Comenius, "Orbis sensualium pictus," English edition, 1659.

should be accompanied with as little disturbance of the old state of things as possible. If Monarchy had vanished in the turmoil of war, his experience of the Long Parliament only confirmed him in

A POTTER.
Comenius, "Orbis sensualium pictus," English edition, 1659.

his belief of the need of establishing an executive power of a similar kind, apart from the power of the legislature, as a condition

of civil liberty. His sword had won "liberty of conscience;" but passionately as he clung to it, he was still for an established Church, for a parochial system, and a ministry maintained by

A TAILOR.
Comenius, "Orbis sensualium pictus," English edition, 1659.

tithes. His social tendencies were simply those of the class to which he belonged. "I was by birth a gentleman," he told a later Parliament, and in the old social arrangement of "a nobleman, a

A SHOEMAKER.
Comenius, "Orbis sensualium pictus," English edition, 1659.

gentleman, a yeoman," he saw "a good interest of the nation and a great one." He hated "that levelling principle" which tended

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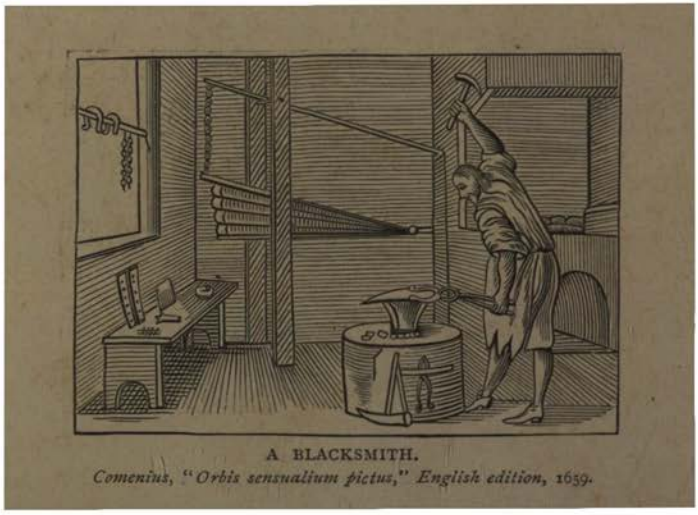
to the reducing of all to one equality. "What was the purport of it," he asks with an amusing simplicity, "but to make the tenant as liberal a fortune as the landlord? Which, I think, if obtained,



A BLACKSMITH.
Comenius, "Orbis sensualium pictus," English edition, 1659.

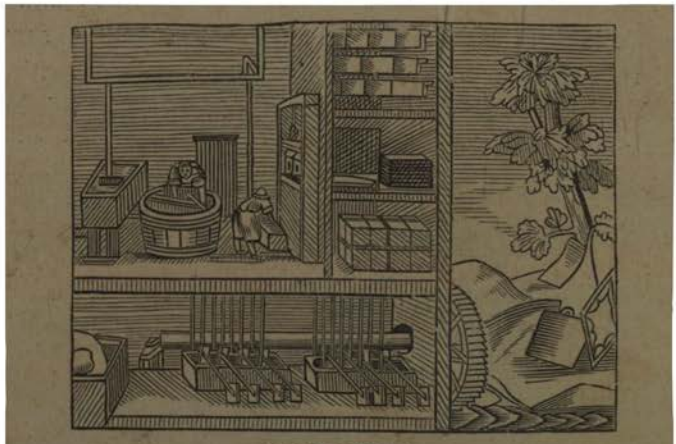
would not have lasted long. The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would then have cried up property and interest fast enough."

A SPECTACLE-MAKER.
Comenius, "Orbis sensualium pictus," English edition, 1659.

The New Constitution

To a practical temper such as this the speculative reforms of the Convention were as distasteful as to the lawyers and clergy

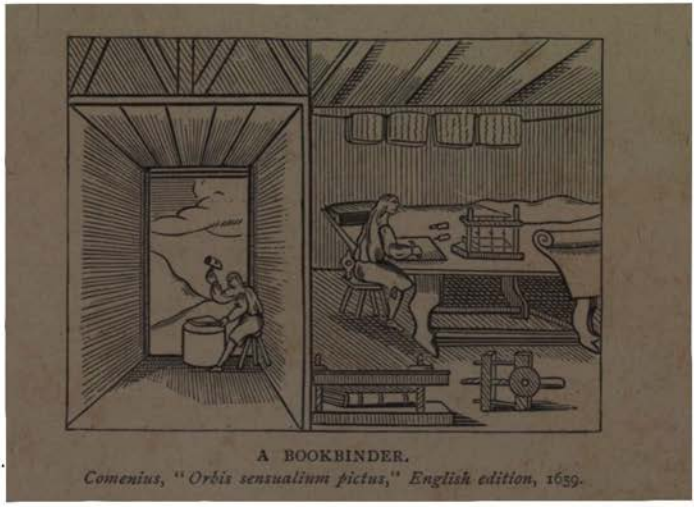
whom they attacked. "Nothing," said Cromwell, "was in the hearts of these men but 'overturn, overturn.'" But he was delivered from his embarrassment by the internal dissensions of the



PAPER-MAKERS.
Comenius, "Orbis sensualium pictus," English edition, 1659.

Assembly itself. The day after the decision against tithes the more conservative members snatched a vote by surprise "that the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not

Close of the Convention Dec. 1653



A BOOKBINDER.
Comenius, "Orbis sensualium pictus," English edition, 1659.

be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that it is requisite to deliver up unto the Lord-General the powers we received from

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him." The Speaker placed their abdication in Cromwell's hands, and the act was confirmed by the subsequent adhesion of a majority of the members. The dissolution of the Convention replaced matters in the state in which its assembly had found them; but there was still the same general anxiety to substitute some sort of legal rule for the power of the sword. The Convention had named during its session a fresh Council of State, and this body at once drew up, under the name of the Instrument of Government, a

THE EXCHANGE, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.
Built 1655—1658.
Brand, "History of Newcastle."

remarkable Constitution, which was adopted by the Council of Officers. They were driven by necessity to the step from which they had shrunk before, that of convening a Parliament on the reformed basis of representation, though such a basis had no legal sanction. The House was to consist of four hundred members from England, thirty from Scotland, and thirty from Ireland. The seats hitherto assigned to small and rotten boroughs were transferred to larger constituencies, and for the most part to counties. All special rights of voting in the election of members

The Instrument of Government

were abolished, and replaced by a general right of suffrage, based on the possession of real or personal property to the value of two hundred pounds. Catholics and "Malignants," as those who had fought for the King were called, were excluded for the while from the franchise. Constitutionally, all further organization of the form of government should have been left to this Assembly; but the dread of disorder during the interval of its election, as well as a longing for "settlement," drove the Council to complete their work by pressing the office of "Protector" upon Cromwell. "They told

WHITE HART INN, SCOLE, NORFOLK.
Built 1655.
Richardson, "Studies from Old English Mansions."

me that except I would undertake the government they thought things would hardly come to a composure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break in as before." If we follow however his own statement, it was when they urged that the acceptance of such a Protectorate actually limited his power as Lord-General, and "bound his hands to act nothing without the consent of a Council until the Parliament," that the post was accepted. The powers of the new Protector indeed were strictly limited. Though the members of the Council were originally named by him, each

member was irremovable save by consent of the rest: their advice was necessary in all foreign affairs, their consent in matters of peace and war, their approval in nominations to the great offices of state, or the disposal of the military or civil power. With this body too lay the choice of all future Protectors. To the administrative check of the Council was added the political check of the Parliament. Three years at the most were to elapse between the assembling of one Parliament and another. Laws could not be made, nor taxes imposed but by its authority, and after the lapse of twenty days the statutes it passed became laws even if the Protector's assent was refused to them. The new Constitution was undoubtedly popular; and the promise of a real Parliament in a few months covered the want of any legal character in the new rule. The Government was generally accepted as a provisional one, which could only acquire legal authority from the ratification of its acts in the coming session; and the desire to settle it on such a Parliamentary basis was universal among the members of the new Assembly which met in the autumn at Westminster.

Parliament of 1654

Few Parliaments have ever been more memorable, or more truly representative of the English people, than the Parliament of 1654. It was the first Parliament in our history where members from Scotland and Ireland sate side by side with those from England, as they sit in the Parliament of to-day. The members for rotten boroughs and pocket-boroughs had disappeared. In spite of the exclusion of royalists and Catholics from the polling-booths, and the arbitrary erasure of the names of a few ultra-republican members by the Council, the House had a better title to the name of a "free Parliament" than any which had sat before. The freedom with which the electors had exercized their right of voting was seen indeed in the large number of Presbyterian members who were returned, and in the reappearance of Haselrig and Bradshaw, with many members of the Long Parliament, side by side with Lord Herbert and the older Sir Harry Vane. The first business of the House was clearly to consider the question of government; and Haselrig, with the fiercer republicans, at once denied the legal existence of either Council or Protector, on the ground that the Long Parliament had never been dissolved. Such an argument, however, told as much against the Parliament in

which they sate as against the administration itself, and the bulk of the Assembly contented themselves with declining to recognize the Constitution or Protectorate as of more than provisional validity. They proceeded at once to settle the government on a Parliamentary basis. The "Instrument" was taken as the groundwork of the new Constitution, and carried clause by clause. That Cromwell should retain his rule as Protector was unanimously agreed; that he should possess the right of veto or a co-ordinate legislative power with the Parliament was hotly debated, though the violent language of Haselrig did little to disturb the general tone of moderation. Suddenly, however, Cromwell interposed. If he had undertaken the duties of Protector with reluctance, he looked on all legal defects in his title as more than supplied by the consent of the nation. "I called not myself to this place," he urged, "God and the people of these kingdoms have borne testimony to it." His rule had been accepted by London, by the army, by the solemn decision of the judges, by addresses from every shire, by the very appearance of the members of the Parliament in answer to his writ. "Why may I not balance this Providence," he asked, "with any hereditary interest?" In this national approval he saw a call from God, a Divine Right of a higher order than that of the kings who had gone before.

Cromwell's Administration

But there was another ground for the anxiety with which he watched the proceedings of the Commons. His passion for administration had far overstepped the bounds of a merely provisional rule in the interval before the assembling of the Parliament. His desire for "settlement" had been strengthened not only by the drift of public opinion, but by the urgent need of every day; and the power reserved by the "Instrument" to issue temporary ordinances, "until further order in such matters, to be taken by the Parliament," gave a scope to his marvellous activity of which he at once took advantage. Sixty-four Ordinances had been issued in the nine months before the meeting of the Parliament. Peace had been concluded with Holland. The Church had been set in order. The law itself had been minutely regulated. The union with Scotland had been brought to completion. So far was Cromwell from dreaming that these measures, or the authority which enacted them, would be questioned, that he looked to

"THE ROYALL OAKE OF BRITTAYNE."
Satirical Print, temp. Cromwell.

Parliament simply to complete his work. "The great end of your meeting," he said at the first assembly of its members, "is healing and settling." Though he had himself done much, he added, "there was still much to be done." Peace had to be made with Portugal, and alliance with Spain. Bills were laid before the House for the codification of the law. The plantation and settlement of Ireland had still to be completed. He resented the setting these projects aside for constitutional questions which, as he held, a Divine call had decided, but he resented yet more the renewed claim advanced by Parliament to the sole power of legislation. As we have seen, his experience of the evils which had arisen from the concentration of legislative and executive power in the Long Parliament had convinced Cromwell of the danger to public liberty which lay in such a union. He saw in the joint government of "a single person and a Parliament" the only assurance "that Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual," or that their power should not be perverted to public wrong. But whatever strength there may have been in the Protector's arguments, the act by which he proceeded to enforce them was fatal to liberty, and in the end to Puritanism. "If my calling be from God," he ended, "and my testimony from the People, God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part from it." And he announced that no member would be suffered to enter the House without signing an engagement "not to alter the Government as it is settled in a single person and a Parliament." No act of the Stuarts had been a bolder defiance of constitutional law; and the act was as needless as it was illegal. One hundred members alone refused to take the engagement, and the signatures of three-fourths of the House proved that the security Cromwell desired might have been easily procured by a vote of Parliament. But those who remained resumed their constitutional task with unbroken firmness. They quietly asserted their sole title to government by referring the Protector's Ordinances to Committees for revision, and for conversion into laws. The "Instrument of Government" was turned into a bill, debated, and after some modifications read a third time. Money votes, as in previous Parliaments, were deferred till "grievances" had been settled. But Cromwell once more intervened. The royalists were astir again; and he attributed

Dissolution of the Parliament

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their renewed hopes to the hostile attitude which he ascribed to the Parliament. The army, which remained unpaid while the supplies were delayed, was seething with discontent. "It looks,"

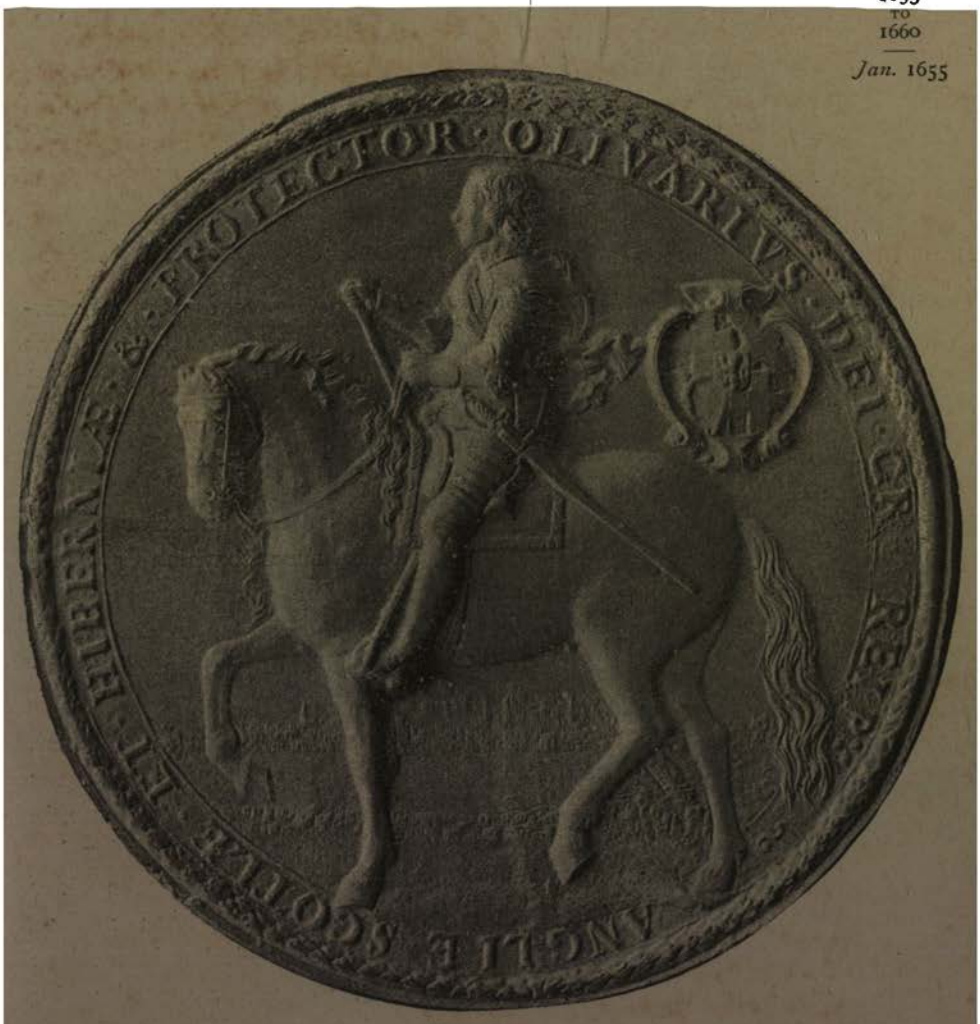
SECOND GREAT SEAL OF PROTECTOR OLIVER, 1655—1658.

said the Protector, "as if the laying grounds for a quarrel had rather been designed than to give the people settlement. Judge yourselves whether the contesting of things that were provided for by this government hath been profitable expense of time for the

good of this nation." In words of angry reproach he declared the Parliament dissolved.

With the dissolution of the Parliament of 1654 ended all show

Jan. 1655



SECOND GREAT SEAL OF PROTECTOR OLIVER, 1655—1658.

of constitutional rule. The Protectorate, deprived by its own act of all chance of legal sanction, became a simple tyranny. Cromwell professed, indeed, to be restrained by the "Instrument"; but the one great restraint on his power which the Instrument provided,

The New Tyranny

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The Fall of Puritanism 1653 to 1660

the inability to levy taxes save by consent of Parliament, was set aside on the plea of necessity. "The People," said the Protector in words which Strafford might have uttered, "will prefer their real security to forms." That a danger of royalist revolt existed was undeniable, but the danger was at once doubled by the general discontent. From this moment, Whitelock tells us, "many sober and noble patriots," in despair of public liberty, "did begin to incline to the King's restoration." In the mass of the population the reaction was far more rapid. "Charles Stuart," writes a Cheshire correspondent to the Secretary of State, "hath five hundred friends in these adjacent counties for every one friend to you among them." But before the overpowering strength of the army even this general discontent was powerless. Yorkshire, where the royalist insurrection was expected to be most formidable, never ventured to rise at all. There were risings in Devon, Dorset, and the Welsh Marches, but they were quickly put down, and their leaders brought to the scaffold. Easily however as the revolt was suppressed, the terror of the Government was seen in the energetic measures to which Cromwell resorted in the hope of securing order. The country was divided into ten military governments, each with a major-general at its head, who was empowered to disarm all Papists and royalists, and to arrest suspected persons. Funds for the supports of this military despotism were provided by an Ordinance of the Council of State, which enacted that all who had at any time borne arms for the King should pay every year a tenth part of their income, in spite of the Act of Oblivion, as a fine for their royalist tendencies. The despotism of the major-generals was seconded by the older expedients of tyranny. The ejected clergy had been zealous in promoting the insurrection, and they were forbidden in revenge to act as chaplains or as tutors. The press was placed under a strict censorship. The payment of taxes levied by the sole authority of the Protector was enforced by distraint; and when a collector was sued in the courts for redress, the counsel for the prosecution were sent to the Tower.

The Major-Generals

Scotland and Ireland

If pardon, indeed, could ever be won for a tyranny, the wisdom and grandeur with which he used the power he had usurped would win pardon for the Protector. The greatest

among the many great enterprises undertaken by the Long Parliament had been the Union of the three Kingdoms: and that of Scotland with England had been brought about, at the very end of its career, by the tact and vigour of Sir Harry Vane. But its practical realization was left to Cromwell. In four months of hard fighting General Monk brought the Highlands to a new tranquillity; and the presence of an army of eight thousand men, backed by a line of forts, kept the most restless of the clans in good order. The settlement of the country was brought about by the temperance and sagacity of Monk's successor, General Deane. No further interference with the Presbyterian system was attempted beyond the suppression of the General Assembly. But religious liberty was resolutely protected, and Deane ventured even to interfere on behalf of the miserable victims whom Scotch bigotry was torturing and burning on the charge of witchcraft. Even steady royalists acknowledged the justice of the Government and the wonderful discipline of its troops. "We always reckon those eight years of the usurpation," said Burnet afterwards, "a time of great peace and prosperity." Sterner work had to be done before

SATIRE ON SCOTCH PRESBYTERIANS.
From Messrs. Goldsmid's facsimile of Cavalier playing cards in the possession of Earl Nelson.

STREET IN GALWAY, SHOWING HOUSE OF THOMAS LYNCH, MAYOR, EXPELLED AS A CATHOLIC IN 1654.
After W. H. Bartlett.

Ireland could be brought into real union with its sister kingdoms. The work of conquest had been continued by Ireton, and completed after his death by General Ludlow, as mercilessly as it had

IRISHMAN AND WOMAN.
Hollar's Map of Ireland, 1653.

begun. Thousands perished by famine or the sword. Shipload after shipload of those who surrendered were sent over sea for sale into forced labour in Jamaica and the West Indies. More

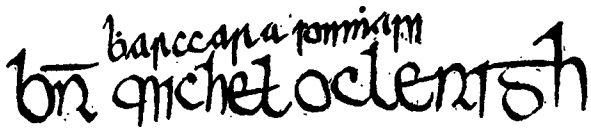
Settlement of Ireland

AN IRISH MILKMAID.
T. Dineley, "Tour through Ireland," 1681.
Journal of Kilkenny Archæological Society, now Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

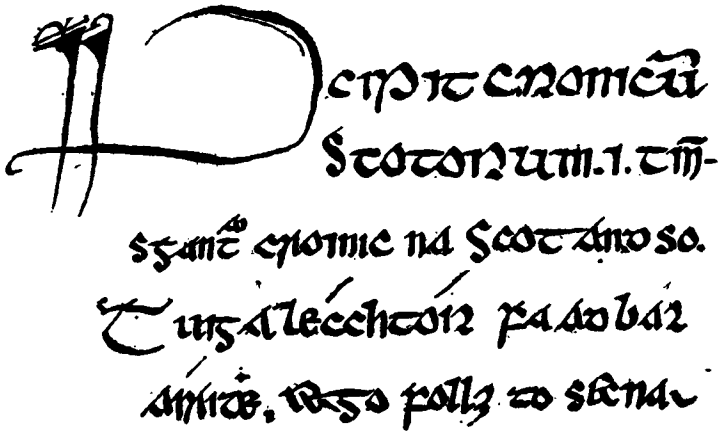
than forty thousand of the beaten Catholics were permitted to enlist for foreign service, and found a refuge in exile under the

Do ċuireasa an bratair Miċel O Cleirig reamam an tren-ċroinic darab ainm Leabar Gabala do glanad, do cear-túgad ocus do scríobad (amaille le toil m'Uaċtarain) do ċum go rachad i nglóir do Dhía, in ónóir dona naomhaib,

BEGINNING OF DEDICATION OF ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS, 1634.



SIGNATURE OF MICHAEL O'CLERY, 1634.



HANDWRITING OF DUALD MAC FIRBIS, 1650.

FACSIMILES OF IRISH MSS., A.D. 1634—1650.

banners of France and Spain. The work of settlement, which was undertaken by Henry Cromwell, the younger and abler of the Protector's sons, turned out to be even more terrible than the work of the sword. It took as its model the Colonization of Ulster, the fatal measure which had destroyed all hope of a united Ireland and had brought inevitably in its train the revolt and the war. The people were divided into classes in the order of their assumed guilt. All who after fair trial were proved to have personally taken part in the massacre were sentenced to banishment or death. The general amnesty which freed "those of the meaner sort" from all question on other scores was far from extending to the landowners. Catholic proprietors who had shown no goodwill to the Parliament, even though they had taken no part in the war, were punished by the forfeiture of a third of their estates. All who had borne arms were held to have forfeited the whole, and driven into Connaught, where fresh estates were carved out for them from the lands of the native clans. No such doom had ever fallen on a nation in modern times as fell upon Ireland in its new settlement. Among the bitter memories which part Ireland from England the memory of the bloodshed and confiscation which the Puritans wrought remains the bitterest; and the worst curse an Irish peasant can hurl at his enemy is "the curse of Cromwell." But pitiless as the Protector's policy was, it was successful in the ends at which it aimed. The whole native population lay helpless and crushed. Peace and order were restored, and a large incoming of Protestant settlers from England and Scotland brought a new prosperity to the wasted country. Above all, the legislative union which had been brought about with Scotland was now carried out with Ireland, and thirty seats were allotted to its representatives in the general Parliament.

England and the Protectorate

In England Cromwell dealt with the royalists as irreconcilable enemies; but in every other respect he carried fairly out his pledge of "healing and settling." The series of administrative reforms planned by the Convention had been partially carried into effect before the meeting of Parliament in 1654; but the work was pushed on after the dissolution of the House with yet greater energy. Nearly a hundred ordinances showed the industry of the Government. Police, public amusements, roads, finances, the

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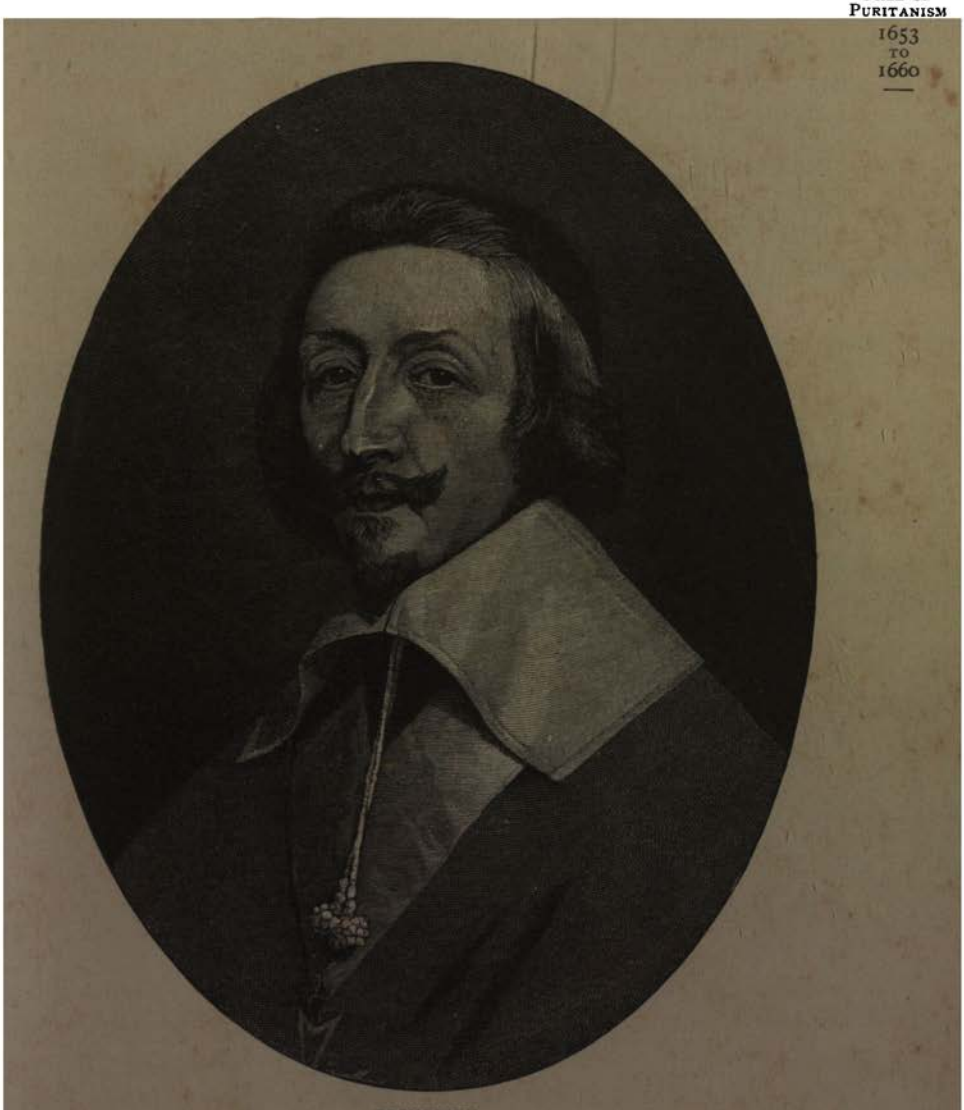
condition of prisons, the imprisonment of debtors, were a few among the subjects which claimed Cromwell's attention. An ordinance of more than fifty clauses reformed the Court of Chancery. The anarchy which had reigned in the Church since the break-down of Episcopacy and the failure of the Presbyterian system to supply its place, was put an end to by a series of wise and temperate measures for its reorganization. Rights of patronage were left untouched; but a Board of Triers, a fourth of whom were laymen, was appointed to examine the fitness of ministers presented to livings; and a Church board of gentry and clergy was set up in every county to exercise a supervision over ecclesiastical affairs, and to detect and remove scandalous and ineffectual ministers. Even by the confession of Cromwell's opponents the plan worked well. It furnished the country with "able, serious preachers," Baxter tells us, "who lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were," and, as both Presbyterian and Independent ministers were presented to livings at the will of their patrons, it solved so far as practical working was concerned the problem of a religious union among the Puritans on the base of a wide variety of Christian opinion. From the Church which was thus reorganized all power of interference with faiths differing from its own was resolutely withheld. Save in his dealings with the Episcopalians, whom he looked on as a political danger, Cromwell remained true throughout to the cause of religious liberty. Even the Quaker, rejected by all other Christian bodies as an anarchist and blasphemer, found sympathy and protection in the Protector. The Jews had been excluded from England since the reign of Edward the First; and a prayer which they now presented for leave to return was refused by the commission of merchants and divines to whom the Protector referred it for consideration. But the refusal was quietly passed over, and the connivance of Cromwell in the settlement of a few Hebrews in London and Oxford was so clearly understood that no one ventured to interfere with them.

Cromwell and Europe

No part of his policy is more characteristic of Cromwell's mind, whether in its strength or in its weakness, than his management of foreign affairs. While England had been absorbed in her long and obstinate struggle for freedom the whole face of the world around

her had changed. The Thirty Years' War was over. The victories of Gustavus, and of the Swedish generals who followed him,



RICHELIEU.
Picture by P. de Champaigne, in the National Gallery.

had been seconded by the policy of Richelieu and the intervention of France. Protestantism in Germany was no longer in peril from the bigotry or ambition of the House of Austria; and the Treaty

EUROPE
FROM 1648 TO 1700
From Spruner
Scale of Eng. Stat. Miles
DENMARK
ENGLAND
IRELAND
FRANCE
GERMANY
Bohemia
POLAND
PRUSSIA
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
WALACHIA
TURKEY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MOORISH EMPIRE
ALGIERS
TUNIS
FEZ & MAROCCO
SARDINIA
CORSICA
SICILY
Andalusia
Dublin
Chester
Bristol
London
Portsmouth
Dover
Jersey
Calais
Paris
Nantes
Bordeaux
Amsterdam
Hamburg
Berlin
Prague
Vienna
Warsaw
Venice
Rome
Naples
Madrid
Barcelona
Lisbon
Oporto
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Cartagena
Algiers
Tunis
Malta
Palermo
Messina
Corfu
Athens
Smyrna
Rhodes
Candia
Constantinople
Adrianople
Belgrade
Bucharest
Sophia
Varna
Salonica
Ancona
Minorca
Majorca
Ivica
Tagus
Guadiana
Guadalquivir
Seville
Danube
Rhine
Elbe
Vistula
Dniester
Bug
Dnieper
Po
Rhone
Garonne
Loire
Seine
Meuse
Scheldt
Thames
Severn
Trent
Humber
Mersey
Dee
Shannon
Liffey
Waterford
Cork
Kinsale
Portland
Dover
Brest
Havre
Metz
Toul
Besançon
Blenheim
Ulm
Ratisbon
Nuremberg
Frankfort
Hanover
Bremen
Lubeck
Stettin
Dantzic
Konigsberg
Riga
Memel
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Ryswick
Nimeguen
Maestricht
Namur
Ostend
Dunkirk
Calais
Boulogne
Abbeville
Rouen
Caen
Cherbourg
St. Malo
Brest
Quimper
Lorient
Rochefort
La Rochelle
Bayonne
Perpignan
Toulon
Marseilles
Nice
Genoa
Turin
Milan
Mantua
Parma
Modena
Bologna
Ancona
Rimini
Ravenna
Florence
Leghorn
Pisa
Siena
Perugia
Rome
Civita Vecchia
Gaeta
Capua
Naples
Salerno
Reggio
Messina
Syracuse
Trapani
Marsala
Palermo
Cefalonia
Zante
Patras
Lepanto
Modon
Navarino
Coron
Candia
Rhodes
Cyprus
Scanderoon
Aleppo
Tripoli
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Mecca
Medina
Jidda
Mocha
Aden
Muscat
Ormuz
Bassora
Bagdad
Mosul
Erzerum
Trebizond
Sinope
Amasia
Angora
Smyrna
Ephesus
Sardis
Pergamus
Troy
Gallipoli
Adrianople
Philippopolis
Sophia
Nissa
Widin
Silistria
Varna
Bucharest
Belgrade
Temeswar
Hermanstadt
Kronstadt
Jassy
Kaffa
Azoff
Taganrog
Perekop
Crimea
Kiev
Smolensko
Moscow
Archangel
Wilna
Grodno
Brest
Warsaw
Thorn
Posen
Breslau
Glogau
Frankfort
Leipsic
Dresden
Prague
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Munich
Ulm
Stuttgart
Heidelberg
Mannheim
Worms
Mayence
Coblentz
Cologne
Aix la Chapelle
Liege
Namur
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Bruges
Ostend
Antwerp
Utrecht
Amsterdam
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Haarlem
Groningen
Embden
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Bremen
Hamburg
Lubeck
Wismar
Rostock
Stralsund
Stettin
Dantzic
Konigsberg
Memel
Riga
Reval
Narva
Petersburg
Ladoga
Novogorod
Pskov
Smolensko
Moscow
Archangel
Kola
Tornea
Uleaborg
Abo
Helsingfors
Wiborg
Stockholm
Upsal
Gefle
Hernosand
Umea
Pitea
Lulea
Tornea
Calmar
Carlscrona
Gothenburg
Christianstad
Malmoe
Elsinore
Copenhagen
Odense
Aalborg
Ribe
Tonningen
Husum
Flensburg
Kiel
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Hamburg
Bremen
Emden
Oldenburg
Minden
Hanover
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Berlin
Potsdam
Frankfort
Leipsic
Dresden
Prague
Pilsen
Budweis
Linz
Passau
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Munich
Innspruck
Salzburg
Vienna
Presburg
Buda
Pesth
Belgrade
Semlin
Peterwardein
Essek
Mohacz
Fiume
Trieste
Gradisca
Laibach
Villach
Klagenfurt
Gratz
Marburg
Agram
Carlstadt
Zara
Spalatro
Ragusa
Cattaro
Durazzo
Valona
Prevesa
Arta
Lepanto
Patras
Corinth
Athens
Thebes
Negropont
Salonica
Cassandria
Mount Athos
Lemnos
Tenedos
Gallipoli
Rodosto
Constantinople
Scutari
Nicomedia
Nice
Smyrna
Ephesus
Sardis
Pergamus
Troy
Adrianople
Philippopolis
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Ratisbon
Augsburg
Munich
Innspruck
Salzburg
Vienna
Presburg
Buda
Pesth
Belgrade
Semlin
Peterwardein
Essek
Mohacz
Fiume
Trieste
Gradisca
Laibach
Villach
Klagenfurt
Gratz
Marburg
Agram
Carlstadt
Zara
Spalatro
Ragusa
Cattaro
Durazzo
Valona
Prevesa
Arta
Lepanto
Patras
Corinth
Athens
Thebes
Negropont
Salonica
Cassandria
Mount Athos
Lemnos
Tenedos
Gallipoli
Rodosto
Constantinople
Scutari
Nicomedia
Nice
Smyrna
Ephesus
Sardis
Pergamus
Troy

of Westphalia had drawn a permanent line between the territories belonging to the adherents of the old religion and the new. There was little danger, indeed, now to Europe from the great Catholic House which had threatened its freedom ever since Charles the Fifth. Its Austrian branch was called away from dreams of aggression in the west to a desperate struggle with the Turk for the possession of Hungary and the security of Austria itself. Spain was falling into a state of strange decrepitude. So far from aiming to be mistress of Europe, she was rapidly sinking into the almost helpless prey of France. It was France which had now become the dominant power in Christendom, though her position was far from being as commanding as it was to become under Lewis the Fourteenth. The peace and order which prevailed after the cessation of the religious troubles throughout her compact and fertile territory gave scope at last to the quick and industrious temper of the French people; while her wealth and energy were placed by the centralizing administration of Henry the Fourth, of Richelieu, and of Mazarin, almost absolutely in the hands of the Crown. Under the three great rulers who have just been named her ambition was steadily directed to the same purpose of territorial aggrandizement, and though limited as yet to the annexation of the Spanish and Imperial territories which still parted her frontier from the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine, a statesman of wise political genius would have discerned the beginning of that great struggle for supremacy over Europe at large which was only foiled by the genius of Marlborough and the victories of the Grand Alliance. But in his view of European politics Cromwell was misled by the conservative and unspeculative temper of his mind as well as by the strength of his religious enthusiasm. Of the change in the world around him he seems to have discerned nothing. He brought to the Europe of Mazarin the hopes and ideas with which all England was thrilling in his youth at the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Spain was still to him "the head of the Papal Interest," whether at home or abroad. "The Papists in England," he said to the Parliament of 1656, "have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolized; they never regarded France, or any other Papist state, but Spain only." The old English hatred of Spain, the old English resentment at the shame-

Cromwell's foreign policy

Oliver P.

We recomend the answeringe of this peticon to the Comiss of our Admiralty desiringe them to doe therein what they may for the incouragemont of the East India Trade. Given att White-hall this 6th of Nouember 1657.

AUTOGRAPH NOTE OF OLIVER CROMWELL TO A PETITION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, NOVEMBER, 1657
India Office.

ful part which the nation had been forced to play in the great German struggle by the policy of James and of Charles, lived on in Cromwell, and was only strengthened by the religious enthusiasm which the success of Puritanism had kindled within him. "The Lord Himself," he wrote to his admirals as they sailed to the West Indies, "hath a controversy with your enemies: even with that Romish Babylon of which the Spaniard is the great underpropper. In that respect we fight the Lord's battles." What Sweden had been under Gustavus, England, Cromwell dreamt, might be now—the head of a great Protestant League in the struggle against Catholic aggression. "You have on your shoulders," he said to the Parliament of 1654, "the interest of all the Christian people of the world. I wish it may be written on our hearts to be zealous for that interest."

War with Spain

The first step in such a struggle was necessarily to league the Protestant powers together, and Cromwell's earliest efforts were directed to bring the ruinous and indecisive quarrel with Holland to an end. The fierceness of the strife had grown with each engagement; but the hopes of Holland fell with her admiral, Tromp, who received a mortal wound at the moment when he had succeeded in forcing the English line; and the skill and energy of his successor, De Ruyter, struggled in vain to restore her waning fortunes. She was saved by the expulsion of the Long Parliament, which had persisted in its demand of a political union of the two countries; and the new policy of Cromwell was seen in the conclusion of peace. The United Provinces recognized the supremacy of the English flag in the British seas, and submitted to the Navigation Act, while Holland pledged itself to shut out the House of Orange from power, and thus relieved England from the risk of seeing a Stuart restoration supported by Dutch forces. The peace with the Dutch was followed by the conclusion of like treaties with Sweden and with Denmark; and on the arrival of a Swedish envoy with offers of a league of friendship, Cromwell endeavoured to bring the Dutch, the Brandenburgers, and the Danes into a confederation of the Protestant powers. His efforts in this direction however, though they never wholly ceased, remained fruitless; but the Protector was resolute to carry out his plans single-handed. The defeat of the Dutch had left England

1654

TETBURY MARKET-PLACE, WITH THE OLD MARKET-HOUSE (NOW DESTROYED), BUILT A.D. 1655.
From an old drawing.

the chief sea-power of the world; and before the dissolution of the Parliament, two fleets put to sea with secret instructions. The first, under Blake, appeared in the Mediterranean, exacted reparation from Tuscany for wrongs done to English commerce, bombarded Algiers, and destroyed the fleet with which its pirates had ventured through the reign of Charles to insult the English coast. The thunder of Blake's guns, every Puritan believed, would be heard in the castle of St. Angelo, and Rome itself would have to bow to the greatness of Cromwell. But though no declaration of war had been issued against Spain, the true aim of both expeditions was an attack on that power; and the attack proved singularly unsuccessful. Though Blake sailed to the Spanish coast, he failed to intercept the treasure fleet from America; and the second expedition, which made its way to the West Indies, was foiled in a descent on St. Domingo. Its conquest of Jamaica, important as it really was in breaking through the monopoly of the New World in the South which Spain had till now enjoyed, seemed at the time but a poor result for a vast expenditure of blood and money. Its leaders were sent to the Tower on their return; but Cromwell found himself at war with Spain, and thrown whether he would or no into the hands of the French minister Mazarin.

1655

Sept. 1655

He was forced to sign a treaty of alliance with France; while the cost of his abortive expeditions drove him again to face a Parliament. But Cromwell no longer trusted, as in his earlier Parliament, to freedom of elections. The sixty members sent from Ireland and Scotland under the Ordinances of union were simply nominees of the Government. Its whole influence was exerted to secure the return of the more conspicuous members of the Council of State. It was calculated that of the members returned one-half were bound to the Government by ties of profit or place. But Cromwell was still unsatisfied. A certificate of the Council was required from each member before admission to the House; and a fourth of the whole number returned—one hundred in all, with Haselrig at their head—were by this means excluded on grounds of disaffection or want of religion. To these arbitrary acts of violence the House replied only by a course of singular moderation and wisdom. From the first it disclaimed any purpose of opposing

Parliament of 1655

SEC. X
THE FALL OF PURITANISM
1653 TO 1660

the Government. One of its earliest acts provided securities for Cromwell's person, which was threatened by constant plots of assassination. It supported him in his war policy, and voted supplies of unprecedented extent for the maintenance of the struggle. It was this attitude of loyalty which gave force to its steady refusal to sanction the system of tyranny which had practically placed England under martial law. In his opening address Cromwell boldly took his stand in support of the military despotism wielded by the major-generals. "It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of vice and settling religion than anything done these fifty years. I will abide by it," he said, with singular vehemence, "notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men. I could as soon venture my life with it as with anything I ever undertook. If it were to be done again, I would do it." But no sooner had a bill been introduced into Parliament to confirm the proceedings of the major-generals than a long debate showed the temper of the Commons. They had resolved to acquiesce in the Protectorate, but they were equally resolved to bring it again to a legal mode of government. This indeed was the aim of even Cromwell's wiser adherents. "What makes me fear the passing of this Act," one of them wrote to his son Henry, "is that thereby His Highness' government will be more founded in force, and more removed from that natural foundation which the people in Parliament are desirous to give him, supposing that he will become more theirs than now he is." The bill was rejected, and Cromwell bowed to the feeling of the nation by withdrawing the powers of the major-generals.

Offer of the Crown to Cromwell

But the defeat of the tyranny of the sword was only a step towards a far bolder effort for the restoration of the power of the law. It was no mere pedantry, still less was it vulgar flattery, which influenced the Parliament in their offer to Cromwell of the title of King. The experience of the last few years had taught the nation the value of the traditional forms under which its liberties had grown up. A king was limited by constitutional precedents. "The king's prerogative," it was well urged, "is under the courts of justice, and is bounded as well as any acre of land, or anything a man hath." A Protector, on the other hand, was new in our history, and there were no traditional means of limiting his power.

"The one office being lawful in its nature," said Glynne, "known to the nation, certain in itself, and confined and regulated by the law, and the other not so—that was the great ground why the Parliament did so much insist on this office and title." Under the name of Monarchy, indeed, the question really at issue between the party headed by the officers and the party led by the lawyers in the Commons was that of the restoration of constitutional and legal rule. The proposal was carried by an overwhelming majority, *Mar.* 1657 but a month passed in endless consultations between the Parliament and the Protector. His good sense, his knowledge of the general feeling of the nation, his real desire to obtain a settlement which should secure the ends for which Puritanism fought, political and religious liberty, broke in conference after conference through a mist of words. But his real concern throughout was with the temper of the army. Cromwell knew well that his government was a sheer government of the sword, and that the discontent of his soldiery would shake the fabric of his power. He vibrated to and fro between his sense of the political advantages of such a settlement, and his sense of its impossibility in face of the mood of the army. His soldiers, he said, were no common swordsmen. They were "godly men, men that will not be beaten down by a worldly and carnal spirit while they keep their integrity;" men in whose general voice he recognized the voice of God. "They are honest and faithful men," he urged, "true to the great things of the Government. And though it really is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them, yet it is my duty and conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard things put upon them which they cannot swallow. I cannot think God would bless an undertaking of anything which would justly and with cause grieve them." The temper of the army was soon shown. Its leaders, with Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough at their head, placed their commands in Cromwell's hands. A petition from the officers to Parliament demanded the withdrawal of the proposal to restore the Monarchy, "in the name of the old cause for which they had bled." Cromwell at once anticipated the coming debate on this petition, a debate which might have led to an open breach between the army and the Commons, by a refusal of the crown. "I cannot undertake this *May* 8, 1657

THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.

Earl of Warwick, appointed by Parliament, 1642; present officially at inauguration of Protector, 1657.

After W. Hollar.

Government," he said, "with that title of King; and that is my answer to this great and weighty business."

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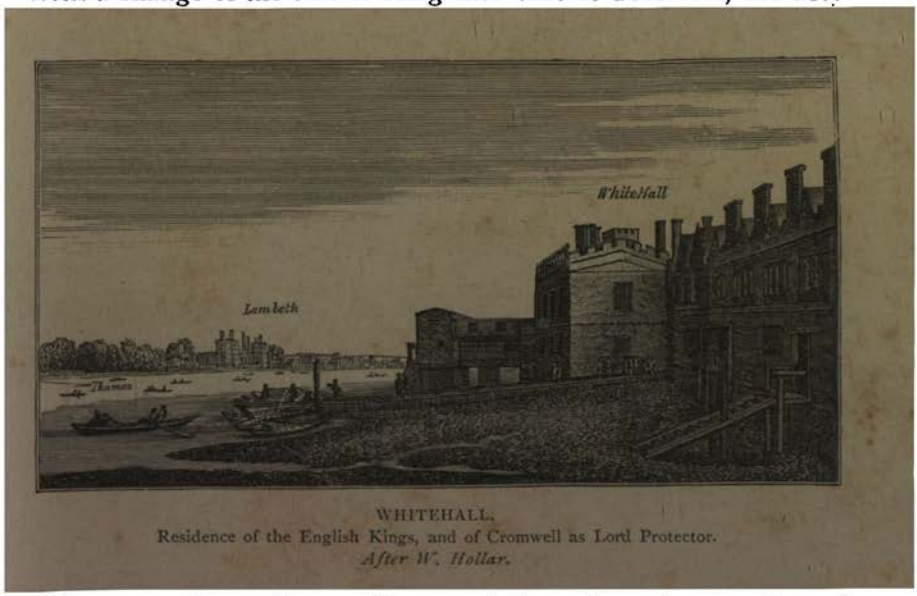
Disappointed as it was, the Parliament with singular self-restraint turned to other modes of bringing about its purpose. The offer of the crown had been coupled with the condition of accepting a constitution which was a modification of the Instrument of Government adopted by the Parliament of 1654, and this constitution Cromwell emphatically approved. "The things provided by this Act of Government," he owned, "do secure the liberties of the people of God as they never before have had them." With a change of the title of King into that of Protector, the Act

Inauguration of the Protector



WHITEHALL,
Residence of the English Kings, and of Cromwell as Lord Protector.
After W. Hollar.

of Government now became law; and the solemn inauguration of the Protector by the Parliament was a practical acknowledgement on the part of Cromwell of the illegality of his former rule. In the name of the Commons the Speaker invested him with a mantle of State, placed the sceptre in his hand, and girt the sword of justice by his side. By the new Act of Government Cromwell was allowed to name his own successor, but in all after cases the office was to be an elective one. In every other respect the forms of the older Constitution were carefully restored. Parliament was again to consist of two Houses, the seventy members of "the other House" being named by the Protector. The Commons regained their old

June 26, 1657

"THE HORRIBLE TAIL-MAN."
Dutch Satire on Cromwell, 1652, British Museum.

right of exclusively deciding on the qualification of their members. Parliamentary restrictions were imposed on the choice of members of the Council, and officers of State or of the army. A fixed revenue was voted to the Protector, and it was provided that no moneys should be raised but by assent of Parliament. Liberty of worship was secured for all but Papists, Prelatists, Socinians, or those who denied the inspiration of the Scriptures; and liberty of conscience was secured for all.

Cromwell's triumphs

The adjournment of the House after his inauguration left Cromwell at the height of his power. He seemed at last to have placed his government on a legal and national basis. The ill-success of his earlier operations abroad was forgotten in a blaze of glory. On the eve of the Parliament's assembly one of Blake's captains had managed to intercept a part of the Spanish treasure fleet. At the close of 1656 the Protector seemed to have found the means of realizing his schemes for rekindling the religious war throughout Europe in a quarrel between the Duke of Savoy and his Protestant subjects in the valleys of Piedmont. A ruthless massacre of these Vaudois by the Duke's troops roused deep resentment throughout England, a resentment which still breathes in the noblest of Milton's sonnets. While the poet called on God to avenge his "slaughtered saints, whose bones lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold," Cromwell was already busy with the work of earthly vengeance. An English envoy appeared at the Duke's court with haughty demands of redress. Their refusal would have been followed by instant war, for the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland were bribed into promising a force of ten thousand men for an attack on Savoy. The plan was foiled by the cool diplomacy of Mazarin, who forced the Duke to grant Cromwell's demands; but the apparent success of the Protector raised his reputation at home and abroad. The spring of 1657 saw the greatest as it was the last of the triumphs of Blake. He found the Spanish Plate fleet guarded by galleons in the strongly-armed harbour of Santa Cruz; he forced an entrance into the harbour and burnt or sank every ship within it. Triumphs at sea were followed by a triumph on land. Cromwell's demand of Dunkirk, which had long stood in the way of any acceptance of his offers of aid, was at last conceded; and a detachment of the Puritan army

A PARTY AT THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE'S HOUSE.
Frontispiece to "Nature's Pictures," by Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, 1656.

joined the French troops who were attacking Flanders under the command of Turenne. Their valour and discipline were shown by the part they took in the capture of Mardyke; and still more by the victory of the Dunes, a victory which forced the Flemish towns to open their gates to the French, and gave Dunkirk to Cromwell.

1658
Death of Cromwell

Never had the fame of an English ruler stood higher; but in the midst of his glory the hand of death was falling on the Protector. He had long been weary of his task. "God knows," he had burst out to the Parliament a year before, "I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, and to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than to have undertaken this government." And now to the weariness of power was added the weakness and feverish impatience of disease. Vigorous and energetic as his life had seemed, his health was by no means as strong as his will; he had been struck down by intermittent fever in the midst of his triumphs both in Scotland and in Ireland, and during the past year he had suffered from repeated attacks of it. "I have some infirmities upon me," he owned twice over in his speech at the re-opening of the Parliament after an adjournment of six months; and his feverish irritability was quickened by the public danger. No *Jan.* 1658 supplies had been voted, and the pay of the army was heavily in arrear, while its temper grew more and more sullen at the appearance of the new Constitution and the re-awakening of the royalist intrigues. Under the terms of the new Constitution the members excluded in the preceding year took their places again in the House. The mood of the nation was reflected in the captious and quarrelsome tone of the Commons. They still delayed the grant of supplies. Meanwhile a hasty act of the Protector in giving to his nominees in "the other House," as the new second chamber he had devised was called, the title of "Lords," kindled a strife between the two Houses which was busily fanned by Haselrig and other opponents of the Government. It was contended that the "other House" had under the new Constitution simply judicial and not legislative powers. Such a contention struck at Cromwell's work of restoring the old political forms of English life; and the reappearance of Parliamentary strife threw him at last, says an observer at his court, "into a rage and passion like unto madness." What gave weight to it was the growing strength of the royalist

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party, and its preparations for a coming rising. Charles himself with a large body of Spanish troops drew to the coast of Flanders to take advantage of it. His hopes were above all encouraged by the strife in the Commons, and their manifest dislike of the system of the Protectorate. It was this that drove Cromwell to action.

Dissolution of the Parliament

Summoning his coach, by a sudden impulse, the Protector drove with a few guards to Westminster; and setting aside the remonstrances of Fleetwood, summoned the two Houses to his presence. "I do dissolve this Parliament," he ended a speech of angry rebuke, "and let God be judge between you and me." Fatal as was the error, for the moment all went well. The army was reconciled by the blow levelled at its opponents, and the few murmurers were weeded from its ranks by a careful remodelling. The triumphant officers vowed to stand or fall with his Highness. The danger of a royalist rising vanished before a host of addresses from the counties. Great news too came from abroad, where victory in Flanders, and the cession of Dunkirk, set the seal on Cromwell's glory. But the fever crept steadily on, and his looks told the tale of death to the Quaker, Fox, who met him riding in Hampton Court Park. "Before I came to him," he says, "as he rode at the head of his Life Guards, I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him, and when I came to him he looked like a dead man." In the midst of his triumph Cromwell's heart was in fact heavy with the sense of failure. He had no desire to play the tyrant; nor had he any belief in the permanence of a mere tyranny. He clung desperately to the hope of bringing the country to his side. He had hardly dissolved the Parliament before he was planning the summons of another, and angry at the opposition which his Council offered to the project. "I will take my own resolutions," he said gloomily to his household; "I can no longer satisfy myself to sit still, and make myself guilty of the loss of all the honest party and of the nation itself." But before his plans

Aug. 1658

could be realized the overtaxed strength of the Protector suddenly gave way. He saw too clearly the chaos into which his death would plunge England to be willing to die. "Do not think I shall die," he burst out with feverish energy to the physicians who gathered round him; "say not I have lost my reason! I tell you the truth. I know it from better authority than any you can have

from Galen or Hippocrates. It is the answer of God Himself to our prayers!" Prayer indeed rose from every side for his recovery, but death drew steadily nearer, till even Cromwell felt that his hour was come. "I would be willing to live," the dying man murmured, "to be further serviceable to God and His people, but my work is done! Yet God will be with His people!" A storm which tore roofs from houses, and levelled huge trees in every forest, seemed a fitting prelude to the passing away of his mighty spirit. Three days later, on the third of September, the day which had witnessed his victories of Worcester and Dunbar, Cromwell quietly breathed his last.

The Fall of Puritanism

So absolute even in death was his sway over the minds of men, that, to the wonder of the excited royalists, even a doubtful nomination on his death-bed was enough to secure the peaceful succession of his son, Richard Cromwell. Many, in fact, who had rejected the authority of his father submitted peacefully to the new Protector. Their motives were explained by Baxter, the most eminent among the Presbyterian ministers, in the address to Richard which announced his adhesion. "I observe," he says, "that the nation generally rejoice in your peaceable entrance upon the Government. Many are persuaded that you have been strangely kept from participating in any of our late bloody contentions, that God might make you the healer of our breaches, and employ you in that Temple work which David himself might not be honoured with, though it was in his mind, because he shed blood abundantly and made great wars." The new Protector was a weak and worthless man, but the bulk of the nation were content to be ruled by one who was at any rate no soldier, no Puritan, and no innovator. Richard was known to be lax and worldly in his conduct, and he was believed to be conservative and even royalist in heart. The tide of reaction was felt even in his Council. Their first act was to throw aside one of the greatest of Cromwell's reforms, and to fall back in the summons which they issued for the new Parliament on the old system of election. It was felt far more keenly in the tone of the new House of Commons. The republicans under Vane, backed adroitly by the secret royalists, fell hotly on Cromwell's system. The fiercest attack of all came from Sir Ashley Cooper, a Dorsetshire gentleman who had changed sides in the

Richard Cromwell

Jan. 1659

DUTCH SATIRE ON RICHARD CROMWELL, 1659.
Print in British Museum.

civil war, had fought for the King and then for the Parliament, had been a member of Cromwell's Council, and had of late ceased to be a member of it. His virulent invective on "his Highness of deplorable memory, who with fraud and force deprived you of your liberty when living, and entailed slavery on you at his death," was followed by an equally virulent invective against the army. "They have not only subdued their enemies," said Cooper, "but the masters who raised and maintained them! They have not only conquered Scotland and Ireland, but rebellious England too; and there suppressed a Malignant party of magistrates and laws." The army was quick with its reply. It had already demanded the appointment of a soldier as its General in the place of the new Protector, who had assumed the command. The tone of the Council of Officers now became so menacing that the Commons ordered the dismissal of all officers who refused to engage "not to disturb or interrupt the free meetings of Parliament." Richard ordered the Council of Officers to dissolve. Their reply was a demand for a dissolution of the Parliament, a demand with which Richard was forced to comply. The purpose of the army however was still to secure a settled government; and setting aside the new Protector, whose weakness was now evident, they resolved to come to a reconciliation with the republican party, and to recall the fragment of the Commons whom they had expelled from St. Stephen's in 1653. Of the one hundred and sixty members who had continued to sit after the King's death, about ninety returned to their seats, and resumed the administration of affairs. But the continued exclusion of the members who had been "purged" from the House in 1648, proved that no real intention existed of restoring a legal rule. The House was soon at strife with the soldiers. In spite of Vane's counsels, it proposed a reform of the officers, and though a royalist rising in Cheshire during August threw the disputants for a moment together, the struggle revived as the danger passed away. A new hope indeed filled men's minds. Not only was the nation sick of military rule, but the army, unconquerable so long as it held together, at last showed signs of division. In Ireland and Scotland the troops protested against the attitude of their English comrades; and Monk, the commander of the Scottish army, threatened to march on London and free the

Return of the Rump

Divisions in the Army

GENERAL MONK.
Miniature by S. Cooper, in the Royal Collection at Windsor.

Parliament from their pressure. Their divisions encouraged Haselrig and his coadjutors to demand the dismissal of Fleetwood and Lambert from their commands. They answered by driving the Parliament again from Westminster, and by marching under

GENERAL LAMBERT.
From an old print.

Lambert to the north to meet Monk's army. Negotiations gave Monk time to gather a Convention at Edinburgh, and strengthen himself with money and recruits. His attitude roused England to action. So rapidly did the tide of feeling rise throughout the country that the army was driven to undo its work by recalling the

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Rump. Monk however advanced rapidly to Coldstream, and crossed the border. The cry of "A free Parliament" ran like fire through the country. Not only Fairfax, who appeared in arms in Yorkshire, but the ships on the Thames and the mob which thronged the streets of London caught up the cry; and Monk, who lavished protestations of loyalty to the Rump, while he accepted petitions for a "Free Parliament," entered London unopposed.

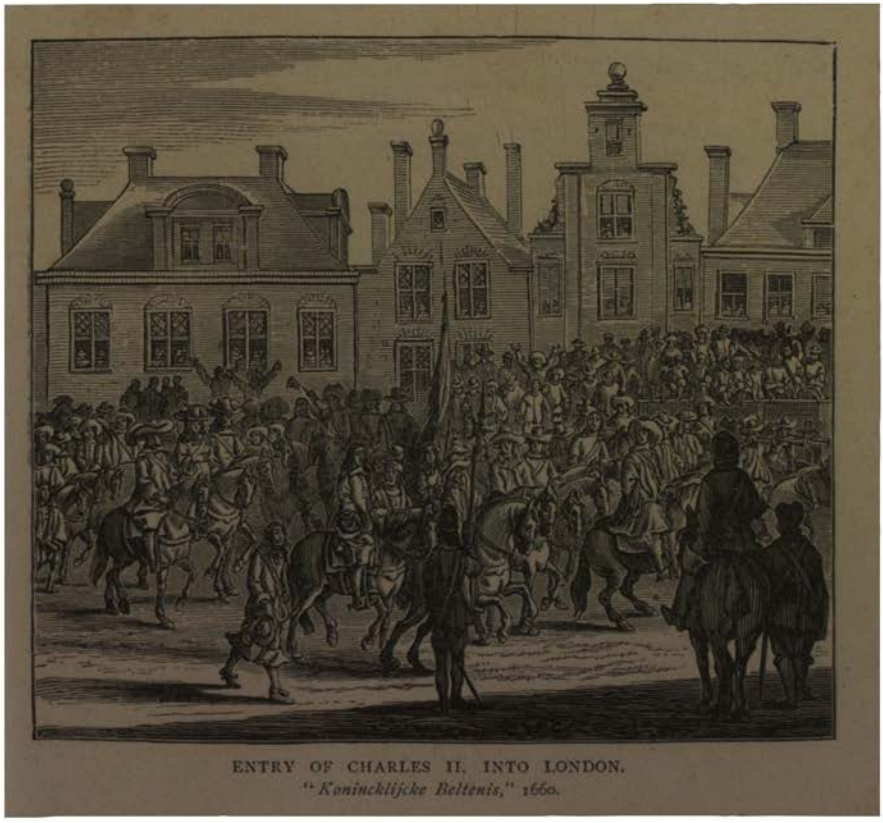
Jan. 1660

CHARLES II. EMBARKING FOR ENGLAND.
"*Koninclijcke Beltenis*," 1660.

From the moment of his entry the restoration of the Stuarts became inevitable. The army, resolute as it still remained for the maintenance of "the cause," was deceived by Monk's declarations of loyalty to it, and rendered powerless by his adroit dispersion of the troops over the country. At the instigation of Ashley Cooper, those who remained of the members who had been excluded from the House of Commons by Pride's Purge in 1648

The Convention April 25

again forced their way into Parliament, and at once resolved on a dissolution and the election of a new House of Commons. The new House, which bears the name of the Convention, had hardly taken the solemn League and Covenant which showed its Presbyterian temper, and its leaders had only begun to draw up terms on which the King's restoration might be assented to, when they found that Monk was in negotiation with the exiled Court. All



ENTRY OF CHARLES II. INTO LONDON.
"*Koninclijcke Beltenis*," 1660.

exaction of terms was now impossible; a Declaration from Breda, in which Charles promised a general pardon, religious toleration, and satisfaction to the army, was received with a burst of national enthusiasm; and the old Constitution was restored by a solemn vote of the Convention, "that according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this Kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons." The King was at once invited

Return of Charles *May* 25

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to hasten to his realm; he landed at Dover, and made his way amidst the shouts of a great multitude to Whitehall. "It is my own fault," laughed the new King, with characteristic irony, "that I had not come back sooner; for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always longed for my return."

Milton

Puritanism, so men believed, had fallen never to rise again. As a political experiment it had ended in utter failure and disgust.

BANQUET AT WHITEHALL.
"*Konincklijcke Beltenis*," 1660.

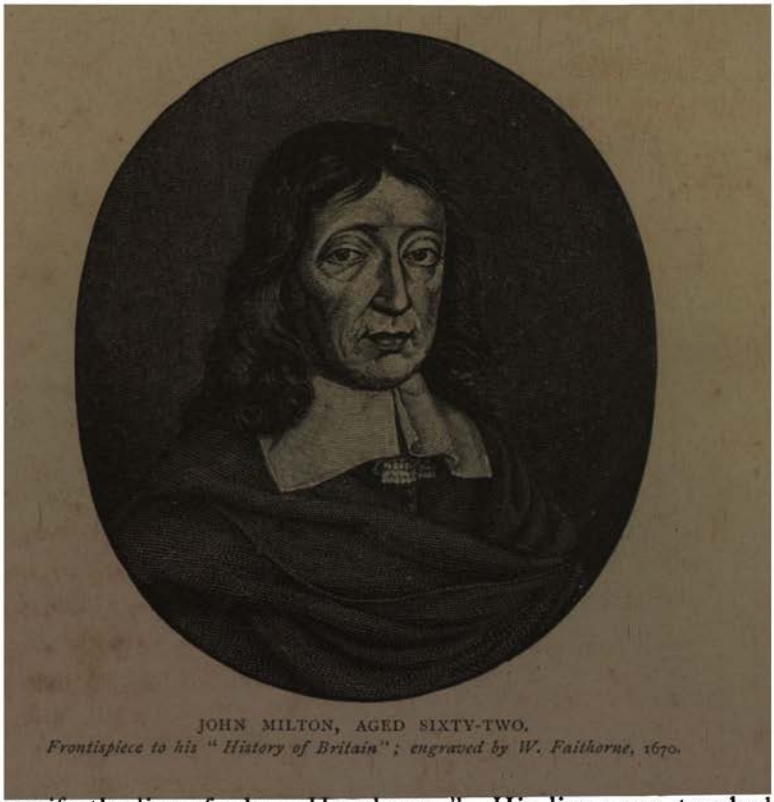
As a religious system of national life it brought about the wildest outbreak of moral revolt that England has ever witnessed. And yet Puritanism was far from being dead; it drew indeed a nobler life from suffering and defeat. Nothing aids us better to trace the real course of Puritan influence since the fall of Puritanism than the thought of the two great works which have handed down from one generation to another its highest and noblest spirit.

From that time to this the most popular of all religious books has been the Puritan allegory of the "Pilgrim's Progress." The most popular of all English poems has been the Puritan epic of the "Paradise Lost." Milton had been engaged during the civil war in strife with Presbyterians and with Royalists, pleading for civil and religious freedom, for freedom of social life, and freedom of the press. At a later time he became Latin Secretary to the Protector, in spite of a blindness which had been brought on by the intensity of his study. The Restoration found him of all living men the most hateful to the Royalists; for it was his "Defence of the English People" which had justified throughout Europe the execution of the King. Parliament ordered his book to be burnt by the common hangman; he was for a time imprisoned, and even when released he had to live amidst threats of assassination from fanatical Cavaliers. To the ruin of his cause were added personal misfortunes in the bankruptcy of the scrivener who held the bulk of his property, and in the Fire of London, which deprived him of much of what was left. As age drew on, he found himself reduced to comparative poverty, and driven to sell his library for subsistence. Even among the sectaries who shared his political opinions Milton stood in religious opinion alone, for he had gradually severed himself from every accepted form of faith, had embraced Arianism, and had ceased to attend at any place of worship. Nor was his home a happy one. The grace and geniality of his youth disappeared in the drudgery of a schoolmaster's life and amongst the invectives of controversy. In age his temper became stern and exacting. His daughters, who were forced to read to their blind father in languages which they could not understand, revolted utterly against their bondage. But solitude and misfortune only brought out into bolder relief Milton's inner greatness. There was a grand simplicity in the life of his later years. He listened every morning to a chapter of the Hebrew Bible, and after musing in silence for a while pursued his studies till midday. Then he took exercise for an hour, played for another hour on the organ or viol, and renewed his studies. The evening was spent in converse with visitors and friends. For, lonely and unpopular as Milton was, there was one thing about him which made his house in Bunhill Fields a

MONUMENT OF JOHN DONNE, POET, d. 1631.
In S. Paul's Cathedral.

place of pilgrimage to the wits of the Restoration. He was the last of the Elizabethans. He had possibly seen Shakspere, as on his visits to London after his retirement to Stratford the playwright passed along Bread Street to his wit combats at the Mermaid. He had been the contemporary of Webster and Massinger, of Herrick and Crashaw. His "Comus" and "Arcades" had rivalled the masques of Ben Jonson. It was with a reverence drawn from thoughts like these that men looked on the blind poet as he sate, clad in black, in his chamber hung with rusty green tapestry, his fair brown hair falling as of old over a calm, serene face that still retained much of its youthful beauty, his cheeks delicately coloured, his clear grey eyes showing no trace of their blindness. But famous, whether for good or ill, as his prose writings had made him, during fifteen years only a few sonnets had broken his silence as a singer. It was now, in his blindness and old age, with the cause he loved trodden under foot by men as vile as the rabble in "Comus," that the genius of Milton took refuge in the great poem on which through years of silence his imagination had still been brooding.

On his return from his travels in Italy, Milton had spoken of himself as musing on "a work not to be raised from the heat of youth or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite, nor to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters; but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out His Seraphim, with the hallowed fire of His altar, to touch



JOHN MILTON, AGED SIXTY-TWO.
Frontispiece to his "History of Britain"; engraved by W. Faithorne, 1670.

and purify the lips of whom He pleases." His lips were touched at last. In his quiet retreat he mused during these years of persecution and loneliness on his great work. Seven years after the Restoration appeared the "Paradise Lost," and four years 1667
later the "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes," in the severe grandeur of whose verse we see the poet himself "fallen," like Samson, "on evil days and evil tongues, with darkness and with danger compassed round." But great as the two last works

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were, their greatness was eclipsed by that of their predecessor. The whole genius of Milton expressed itself in the "Paradise Lost." The romance, the gorgeous fancy, the daring imagination which he shared with the Elizabethan poets, the large but ordered beauty of form which he had drunk in from the literature of Greece and Rome, the sublimity of conception, the loftiness of phrase, which he owed to the Bible, blended in this story "of man's first disobedience, and the fruit of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste brought death into the world and all our woe." It is

MILTON'S HOUSE AT CHALFONT ST. GILES, BUCKS.

only when we review the strangely mingled elements which make up the poem, that we realize the genius which fused them into such a perfect whole. The meagre outline of the Hebrew legend is lost in the splendour and music of Milton's verse. The stern idealism of Geneva is clothed in the gorgeous robes of the Renascence. If we miss something of the free play of Spenser's fancy, and yet more of the imaginative delight in their own creations which gives so exquisite a life to the poetry of the early dramatists, we find in place of these the noblest example which our literature affords of the ordered majesty of classic form. But it is not with the

literary value of the "Paradise Lost" that we are here concerned. Its historic importance lies in this, that it is the Epic of Puritanism. Its scheme is the problem with which the Puritan wrestled in hours of gloom and darkness, the problem of sin and redemption, of the world-wide struggle of evil against good. The intense moral concentration of the Puritan had given an almost bodily shape to spiritual abstractions before Milton gave life and being to the forms of Sin and Death. It was the Puritan tendency to mass into one vast "body of sin" the various forms of human evil, and by the very force of a passionate hatred to exaggerate their magnitude and their power, to which we owe the conception of Milton's Satan. The greatness of the Puritan aim in the long and wavering struggle for justice and law and a higher good; the grandeur of character which the contest developed; the colossal forms of good and evil which moved over its stage; the debates and conspiracies and battles which had been men's life for twenty years; the mighty eloquence and mightier ambition which the war had roused into being—all left their mark on the "Paradise Lost." Whatever was highest and best in the Puritan temper spoke in the nobleness and elevation of the poem, in its purity of tone, in its grandeur of conception, in its ordered and equable realization of a great purpose. Even in his boldest flights, Milton is calm and master of himself. His touch is always sure. Whether he passes from Heaven to Hell, or from the council hall of Satan to the sweet conference of Adam and Eve, his tread is steady and unfaltering. But if the poem expresses the higher qualities of the Puritan temper, it expresses no less exactly its defects. Throughout it we feel almost painfully a want of the finer and subtler sympathies, of a large and genial humanity, of a sense of spiritual mystery. Dealing as Milton does with subjects the most awful and mysterious that poet ever chose, he is never troubled by the obstinate questionings of invisible things which haunted the imagination of Shakspere. We look in vain for any Æschylean background of the vast unknown. "Man's disobedience" and the scheme for man's redemption are laid down as clearly and with just as little mystery as in a Puritan discourse. On topics such as these even God the Father (to borrow Pope's sneer) "turns a school divine." As in his earlier poems he had ordered and arranged nature, so in the "Paradise

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Lost" Milton orders and arranges Heaven and Hell. His mightiest figures, Angel or Archangel, Satan or Belial, stand out colossal but distinct. There is just as little of the wide sympathy with all that is human which is so loveable in Chaucer and Shakspere. On the contrary the Puritan individuality is nowhere so overpowering as in Milton. He leaves the stamp of himself deeply graven on all he creates. We hear his voice in every line of his poem. The cold severe conception of moral virtue which reigns throughout it, the intellectual way in which he paints and regards beauty (for the beauty of Eve is a beauty which no mortal man may love) are Milton's own. We feel his inmost temper in the stoical self-repression which gives its dignity to his figures. Adam utters no cry of agony when he is driven from Paradise. Satan suffers in a defiant silence. It is to this intense self-concentration that we must attribute the strange deficiency of humour which Milton shared with the Puritans generally, and which here and there breaks the sublimity of his poem with strange slips into the grotesque. But it is above all to this Puritan deficiency in human sympathy that we must attribute his wonderful want of dramatic genius. Of the power which creates a thousand different characters, which endows each with its appropriate act and word, which loses itself in its own creations, no great poet ever had less.

Disbanding of the Army

The poem of Milton was the epic of a fallen cause. The broken hope, which had seen the Kingdom of the Saints pass like a dream away, spoke in its very name. Paradise was lost once more, when the New Model, which embodied the courage and the hope of Puritanism, laid down its arms. In his progress to the capital Charles passed in review the soldiers assembled on Blackheath. Betrayed by their general, abandoned by their leaders, surrounded as they were by a nation in arms, the gloomy silence of their ranks awed even the careless King with a sense of danger. But none of the victories of the New Model were so glorious as the victory which it won over itself. Quietly, and without a struggle, as men who bowed to the inscrutable will of God, the farmers and traders who had dashed Rupert's chivalry to pieces on Naseby field, who had scattered at Worcester the "army of the aliens," and driven into helpless flight the sovereign that now came "to enjoy his own again," who had renewed beyond sea the glories of

Crécy and Agincourt, had mastered the Parliament, had brought a King to justice and the block, had given laws to England, and held even Cromwell in awe, became farmers and traders again, and were known among their fellow-men by no other signs than their greater soberness and industry. And, with them, Puritanism laid down the sword. It ceased from the long attempt to build up a kingdom of God by force and violence, and fell back on its truer work of building up a kingdom of righteousness in the hearts and consciences of men. It was from the moment of its seeming fall that its real victory began. As soon as the wild orgy of the Restoration was over, men began to see that nothing that was really worthy in the work of Puritanism had been undone. The revels of Whitehall, the scepticism and debauchery of courtiers, the corruption of statesmen, left the mass of Englishmen what Puritanism had made them, serious, earnest, sober in life and conduct, firm in their love of Protestantism and of freedom. In the Revolution of 1688 Puritanism did the work of civil liberty which it had failed to do in that of 1642. It wrought out through Wesley and the revival of the eighteenth century the work of religious reform which its earlier efforts had only thrown back for a hundred years. Slowly but steadily it introduced its own seriousness and purity into English society, English literature, English politics. The whole history of English progress since the Restoration, on its moral and spiritual sides, has been the history of Puritanism.

CROWN-PIECE.

Design by Simon, Engraver of the Mint during the Commonwealth, rejected by Charles II. *Museum at the Mint, London.*

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLUTION

Section I.—England and the Revolution

[*Authorities.*—For the social change see Memoirs of Pepys and Evelyn, the dramatic works of Wycherly and Etherege, and Lord Macaulay's "Essay on the Dramatists of the Restoration." For the earlier history of English Science see Hallam's sketch ("Literary History," vol. iv.); the histories of the Royal Society by Thompson or Wade; and Sir D. Brewster's biography of Newton. Sir W. Molesworth has edited the works of Hobbes.]

Modern England

THE entry of Charles the Second into Whitehall marked a deep and lasting change in the temper of the English people. With it modern England began. The influences which had up to this time moulded our history, the theological influence of the Reformation, the monarchical influence of the new kingship, the feudal influence of the Middle Ages, the yet earlier influence of tradition and custom, suddenly lost power over the minds of men. From the moment of the Restoration we find ourselves all at once among the great currents of thought and activity which have gone

AMPULLA, OR ANOINTING CRUSE, MADE FOR THE CORONATION OF CHARLES II.
Tower of London.

CHARLES II.

Illumination on a letter patent in Public Record Office.

[*To face page* 1286.

on widening and deepening from that time to this. The England around us becomes our own England, an England whose chief forces are industry and science, the love of popular freedom and of law, an England which presses steadily forward to a larger social justice and equality, and which tends more and more to bring every custom and tradition, religious, intellectual, and political, to the test of pure reason. Between modern thought, on some at least of its more important sides, and the thought of men before the Restoration there is a great gulf fixed. A political thinker in the present day would find it equally hard to discuss any point of statesmanship with Lord Burleigh or with Oliver Cromwell. He would find no point of contact between their ideas of national life or national welfare, their conception of government or the ends of government, their mode of regarding economical and social questions, and his own. But no gulf of this sort parts us from the men who followed the Restoration. From that time to this, whatever differences there may have been as to practical conclusions drawn from them, there has been a substantial agreement as to the grounds of our political, our social, our intellectual and religious life. Paley would have found no difficulty in understanding Tillotson: Newton and Sir Humphry Davy could have talked without a sense of severance. There

SATIRE ON THE PURITANS.
From Messrs. Goldsmid's facsimile of Cavalier playing cards in the possession of Earl Nelson.

SEC. I

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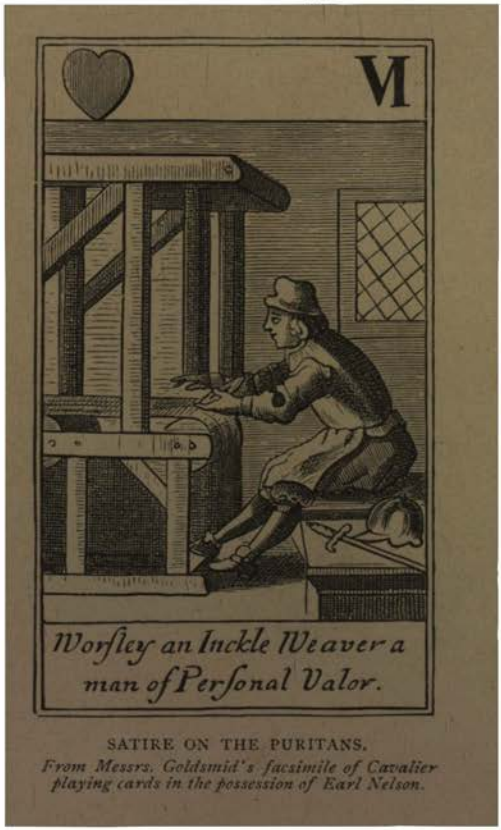
The Puritan Ideal

would have been nothing to hinder a perfectly clear discussion on government or law between John Locke and Jeremy Bentham.

The change from the old England to the new is so startling that we are apt to look on it as a more sudden change than it really was, and the outer aspect of the Restoration does much to strengthen this impression of suddenness. The aim of the Puritan had been to set up a visible Kingdom of God upon earth. He had wrought out his aim by reversing the policy of the Stuarts and the Tudors. From the time of Henry the Eighth to the time of Charles the First, the Church had been looked upon primarily as an instrument for securing, by moral and religious influences, the social and political ends of the State. Under the Commonwealth, the State, in its turn, was regarded primarily as an instrument for securing through its political and social influences the moral and religious ends of the Church. In the Puritan theory, Englishmen were "the Lord's people;" a people dedicated to Him by a solemn Covenant, and whose end as a nation was to carry out His will. For such an end it was needful that rulers, as well as people, should be "godly men." Godliness became necessarily the chief qualification for public employment. The new modelling of the army filled its ranks with "saints." Parliament resolved to employ no man "but such as the House shall be satisfied

SATIRE ON THE PURITANS.
From Messrs. Goldsmid's facsimile of Cavalier playing cards in the possession of Earl Nelson.

of his real godliness." The Covenant which bound the nation to God bound it to enforce God's laws even more earnestly than its own. The Bible lay on the table of the House of Commons; and its prohibition of swearing, of drunkenness, of fornication became part of the law of the land. Adultery was made felony without the benefit of clergy. Pictures whose subjects jarred with the new decorum were ordered to be burnt, and statues were chipped ruthlessly into decency. It was in the same temper that Puritanism turned from public life to private. The Covenant bound not the whole nation only, but every individual member of the nation, to "a jealous God," a God jealous of any superstition that robbed him of the worship which was exclusively his due, jealous of the distraction and frivolity which robbed him of the entire devotion of man to his service. The want of poetry, of fancy, in the common Puritan temper condemned half the popular observances of England as superstitions. It was superstitious to keep Christmas, or to deck the house with holly and ivy. It was superstitious to dance round the village May-pole. It was flat Popery to eat a mince-pie. The rough sport, the mirth and fun of "merry England," were out of place in an England called with so great a calling. Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, horse-racing, cock-fighting, the village revel, the dance under the May-pole, were put down with the same indiscriminating severity. The long struggle between the Puritans and the play-wrights ended in the closing of every theatre.



SATIRE ON THE PURITANS.
From Messrs. Goldsmid's facsimile of Cavalier playing cards in the possession of Earl Nelson.

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ENGLAND AND THE REVOLUTION
The Revolt of the Restoration 1663-1678

The Restoration brought Charles to Whitehall: and in an instant the whole face of England was changed. All that was noblest and best in Puritanism was whirled away with its pettiness and its tyranny in the current of the nation's hate. Religion had been turned into a system of political and social oppression, and it fell with their fall. Godliness became a by-word of scorn; sobriety in dress, in speech, in manners was flouted as a mark of the detested Puritanism. Butler in his "Hudibras" poured insult on the past with a pedantic buffoonery for which the general hatred, far more than its humour, secured a hearing. Archbishop Sheldon listened to the mock sermon of a Cavalier who held up the Puritan phrase and the Puritan twang to ridicule in his hall at Lambeth. Duelling and raking became the marks of a fine gentleman; and grave divines winked at the follies of "honest fellows," who fought, gambled, swore, drank, and ended a day of debauchery by a night in the gutter. Life among men of fashion vibrated between frivolity and excess. One of the comedies of the time tells the courtier that "he must dress well, dance well, fence well, have a talent for love-letters, an agreeable voice, be amorous and discreet—but not too constant." To graces such as these the rakes of the Restoration added a shamelessness and a brutality which passes belief. Lord Rochester was a fashionable poet, and the titles of some of his poems are such as no pen of our day could copy. Sir Charles Sedley was a fashionable wit, and the foulness of his words made even the porters of Covent Garden pelt him

SATIRE ON THE PURITANS.
From Messrs. Goldsmid's facsimile of Cavalier playing cards in the possession of Earl Nelson.

from the balcony when he ventured to address them. The Duke of Buckingham is a fair type of the time, and the most characteristic event in the Duke's life was a duel in which he consummated his seduction of Lady Shrewsbury by killing her husband, while the Countess in disguise as a page held his horse for him and looked on at the murder. Vicious as the stage was, it only reflected the general vice of the time. The Comedy of the Restoration borrowed everything from the Comedy of France save the poetry, the delicacy, and good taste which veiled its grossness. Seduction, intrigue, brutality, cynicism, debauchery, found fitting expression in dialogue of a studied and deliberate foulness, which even its wit fails to redeem from disgust. Wycherly, the popular play-wright of the time, remains the most brutal among all writers of the stage; and nothing gives so damning an impression of his day as the fact that he found actors to repeat his words and audiences to applaud them. Men such as Wycherly gave Milton models for the Belial of his great poem, "than whom a spirit more lewd fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love vice for itself." The dramatist piques himself on the frankness and "plain dealing" which painted the world as he saw it, a world of brawls and assignations, of orgies at Vauxhall, and fights with the watch, of lies and *double-ententes*, of knaves and dupes, of men who sold their daughters, and women who cheated their husbands. But the cynicism of Wycherly was no greater than that of the men about him; and in mere

SATIRE ON THE PURITANS.
From Messrs. Goldsmid's facsimile of Cavalier playing cards in the possession of Earl Nelson.

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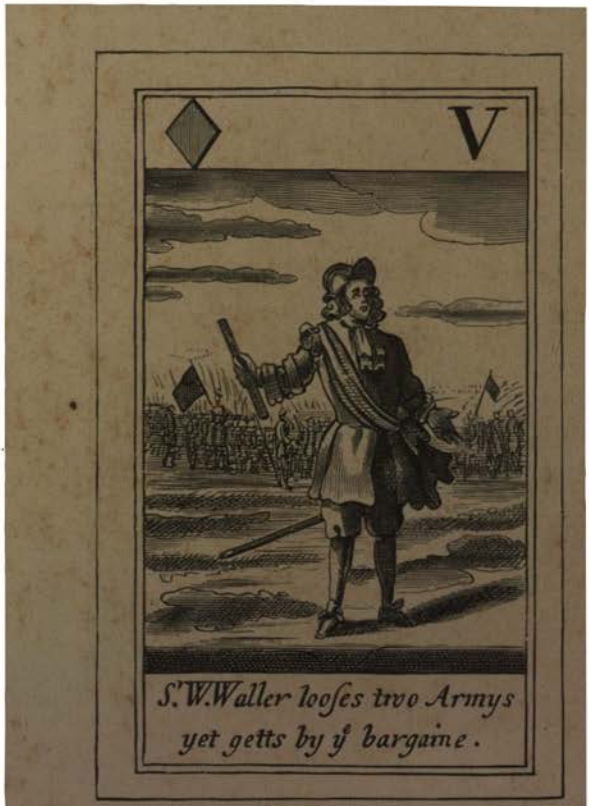
The Earlier Change

love of what was vile, in contempt of virtue and disbelief in purity or honesty, the King himself stood ahead of any of his subjects.

It is however easy to exaggerate the extent of this reaction. So far as we can judge from the memoirs of the time, its more violent forms were practically confined to the capital and the court. The mass of Englishmen were satisfied with getting back their May-poles and mince-pies; and a large part of the people remained Puritan in life and belief, though they threw aside many of the outer characteristics of Puritanism. Nor was the revolution in feeling as sudden as it seemed. Even if the political strength of Puritanism had remained unbroken, its social influence must soon have ceased. The young Englishmen who grew up in the midst of the civil war knew nothing of the bitter tyranny which gave its zeal and fire to the religion of their fathers. From the social and religious anarchy around them, from the endless controversies and discussions of the time, they drank in the spirit of scepticism, of doubt, of free inquiry. If religious enthusiasm had broken the spell of ecclesiastical tradition, its own extravagance broke the spell of religious enthusiasm; and the new generation turned in



SATIRE ON THE PURITANS.
From Messrs. Goldsmid's facsimile of Cavalier playing cards in the possession of Earl Nelson.

disgust to try forms of political government and spiritual belief by the cooler and less fallible test of reason. The children even of the leading Puritans stood aloof from Puritanism. The eldest of Cromwell's sons made small pretensions to religion. Cromwell himself in his later years felt bitterly that Puritanism had missed its aim. He saw the country gentleman, alienated from it by the despotism it had brought in its train, alienated perhaps even more by the appearance of a religious freedom for which he was unprepared, drifting into a love of the older Church that he had once opposed. He saw the growth of a dogged resistance in the people at large. The attempt to secure spiritual results by material force had failed, as it always fails. It broke down before the indifference and resentment of the great mass of the people, of men who were neither lawless nor enthusiasts, but who clung to the older traditions of social order, and whose humour and good sense revolted alike from the artificial conception of human life which Puritanism had formed and from its effort to force such a conception on a people by law. It broke down, too, before the corruption of the Puritans themselves. It was impossible to distinguish between the saint and the hypocrite as soon as godliness became profitable. Even amongst the really earnest Puritans prosperity disclosed a pride, a worldliness, a selfish hardness which had been hidden in the hour of persecution. The tone of Cromwell's later speeches shows his consciousness that the ground was slipping from under his feet. He no longer dwells on the dream of a Puritan England, of a nation rising as a whole into a people of God. He falls back on the phrases of his youth, and the saints become again a "peculiar people," a remnant, a fragment among the nation at large. But the influences which were really foiling Cromwell's aim, and forming beneath his eyes the new England from which he turned in despair, were influences whose power he can hardly have recognized. Even before the outburst of the Civil War a small group of theological Latitudinarians had gathered round Lord Falkland at Great Tew. In the very year when the King's standard was set up at Nottingham Hobbes published the first of his works on Government. The last royalist had only just laid down his arms when the little company who were at a later time to be known as the Royal Society

The intellectual movement

MONUMENT TO ROBERT BURTON, IN CHRISTCHURCH CATHEDRAL, OXFORD.

gathered round Wilkins at Oxford. It is in this group of scientific observers that we catch the secret of the coming generation. From the vexed problems, political and religious, with which it had so long wrestled in vain, England turned at last to the physical world around it, to the observation of its phenomena, to the discovery of the laws which govern them. The pursuit of physical science became a passion ; and its method of research, by observation, comparison, and experiment, transformed the older

ELIAS ASHMOLE, ESQ., WINDSOR HERALD, AND WILLIAM DUGDALE, ESQ., NORROY KING-OF-ARMS.
Sandford. "Funeral of Duke of Albemarle," 1670.

methods of inquiry in matters without its pale. In religion, in politics, in the study of man and of nature, not faith but reason, not tradition but inquiry, were to be the watchwords of the coming time. The dead weight of the past was suddenly rolled away, and the new England heard at last and understood the call of Francis Bacon.

Beginnings of English Science

Bacon had already called men with a trumpet-voice to such studies ; but in England at least Bacon stood before his age. The

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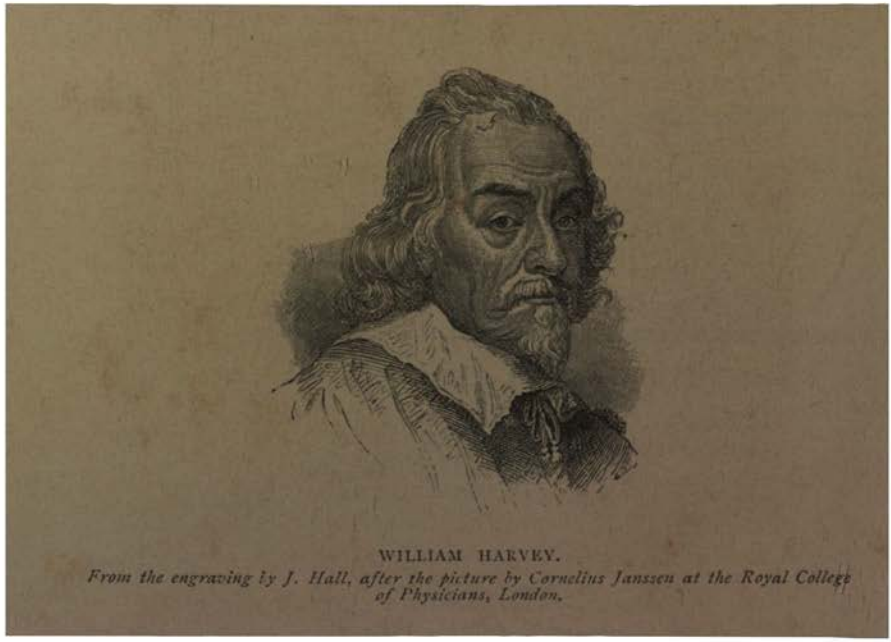
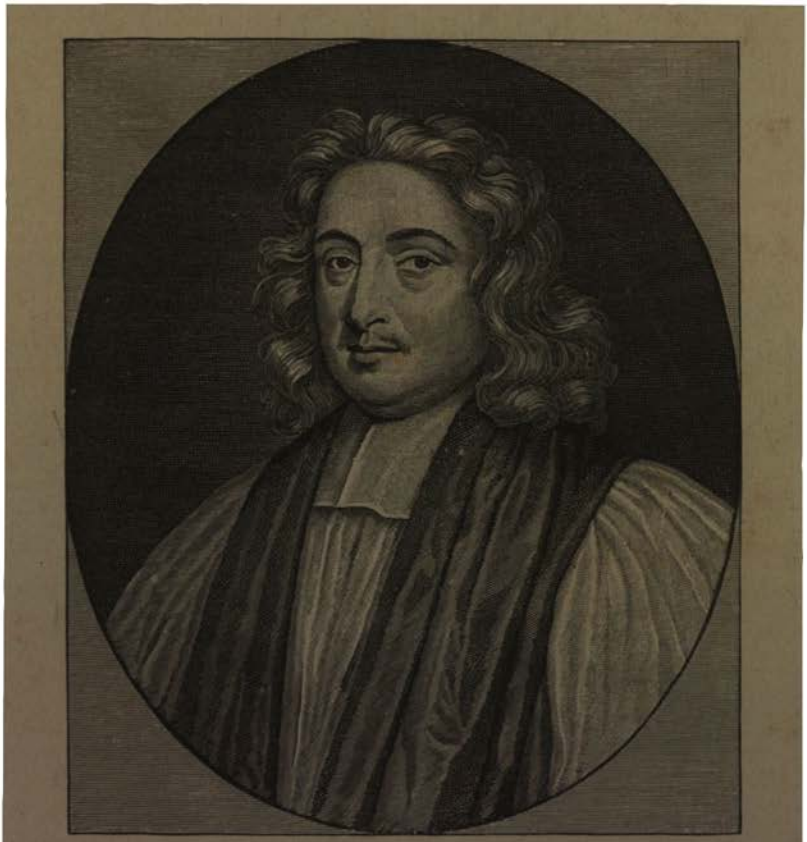
beginnings of physical science were more slow and timid there than in any country of Europe. Only two discoveries of any real value came from English research before the Restoration; the first, Gilbert's discovery of terrestrial magnetism, in the close of Elizabeth's reign; the next, the great discovery of the circulation of the blood, which was taught by Harvey in the reign of James. Apart from these illustrious names England took little share in the scientific movement of the continent; and her whole energies seemed to be whirled into the vortex of theology and politics by



WILLIAM HARVEY.
From the engraving by J. Hall, after the picture by Cornelius Janssen at the Royal College of Physicians, London.

1645 the Civil War. But the war had not reached its end when a little group of students were to be seen in London, men "inquisitive," says one of them, "into natural philosophy and other parts of human learning, and particularly of what hath been called the New Philosophy, . . . which from the times of Galileo at Florence, and Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) in England, hath been much cultivated in Italy, France, Germany, and other parts abroad, as well as with us in England." The strife of the time indeed aided in directing the minds of men to natural inquiries. "To have been always tossing about some theological question," says

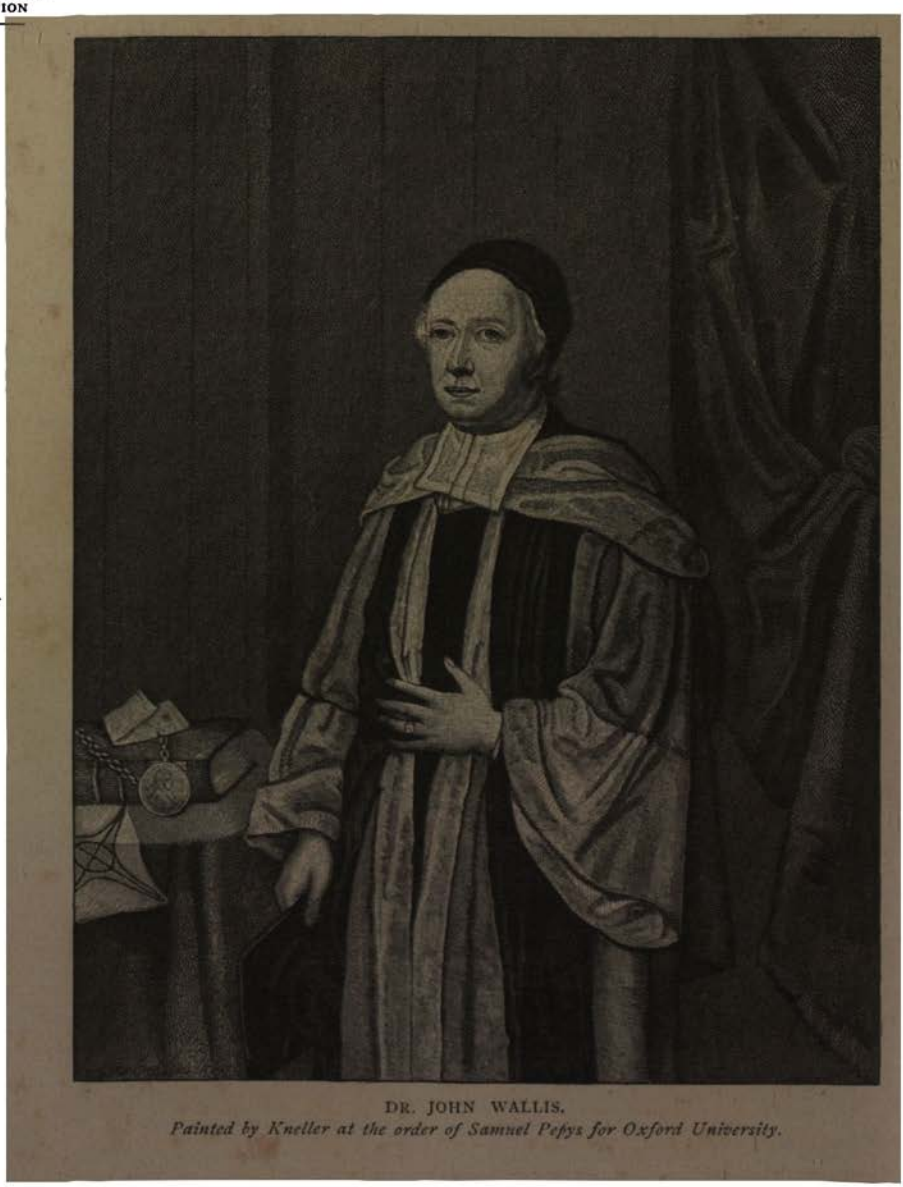
the first historian of the Royal Society, Bishop Sprat, "would have been to have made that their private diversion, the excess of which they disliked in the public. To have been eternally musing on civil business and the distresses of the country was too melancholy a reflection. It was nature alone which could pleasantly entertain



DR. JOHN WILKINS (BISHOP OF CHESTER).
From an engraving by Blooteling, after a picture by Mrs. Beale.

them in that estate." Foremost in the group stood Doctors Wallis 1648
and Wilkins, whose removal to Oxford, which had just been reorganized by the Puritan Visitors, divided the little company into two societies. The Oxford society, which was the more important of the two, held its meetings at the lodgings of Dr. Wilkins, who had become Warden of Wadham College, and added to the names

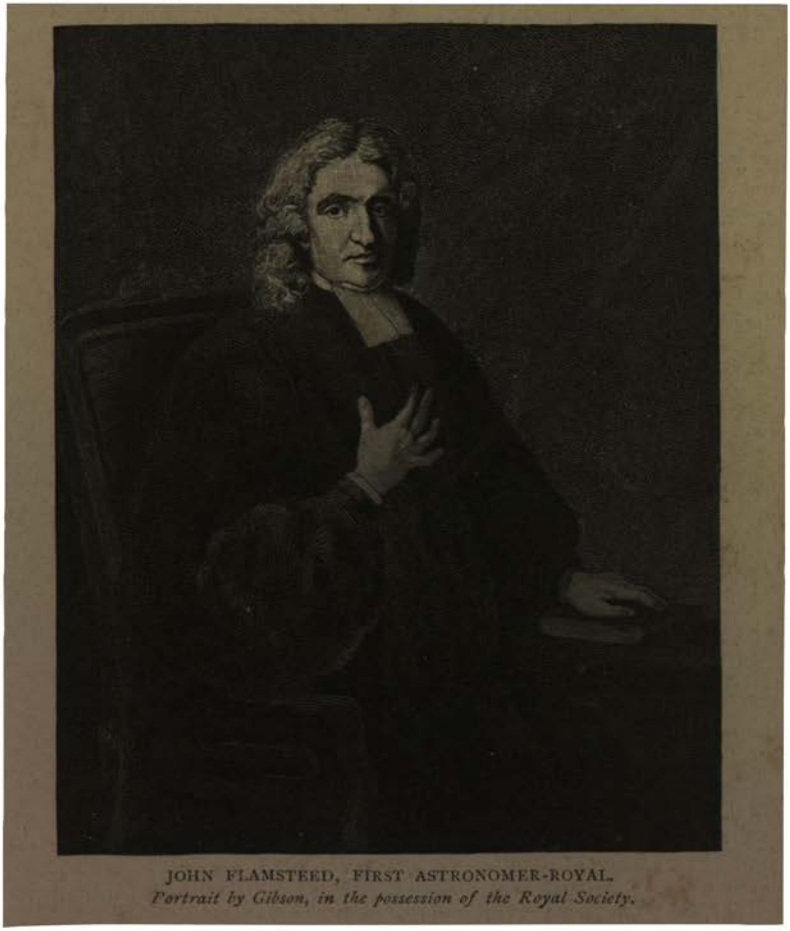
of its members that of the eminent mathematician Dr. Ward, and that of the first of English economists, Sir William Petty. "Our



DR. JOHN WALLIS.
Painted by Kneller at the order of Samuel Pepys for Oxford University.

business," Wallis tells us, "was (precluding matters of theology and State affairs) to discourse and consider of philosophical inquiries

and such as related thereunto, as Physick, Anatomy, Geometry, Astronomy, Navigation, Statics, Magnetics, Chymicks, Mechanicks, and Natural Experiments: with the state of these studies, as then cultivated at home and abroad. We then discoursed of the circulation of the blood, the valves in the *venæ lacteæ*, the lymphatic vessels, the Copernican hypothesis, the nature of comets and new

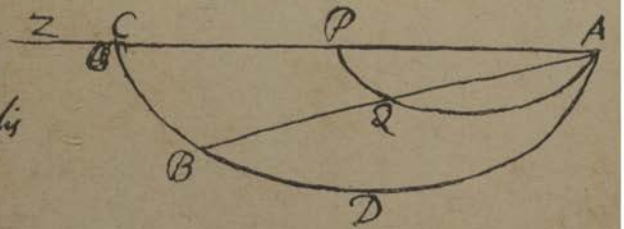


JOHN FLAMSTEED, FIRST ASTRONOMER-ROYAL.
Portrait by Gibson, in the possession of the Royal Society.

stars, the satellites of Jupiter, the oval shape of Saturn, the spots in the sun and its turning on its own axis, the inequalities and selenography of the moon, the several phases of Venus and Mercury, the improvement of telescopes, the grinding of glasses for that purpose, the weight of air, the possibility or impossibility of vacuities, and Nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian experi-

Probl. I

Investiganda est curva linea ADB in qua grave a dato quovis puncto A ad datum quodvis punctum B vi gravitatis sua citissimè descendat



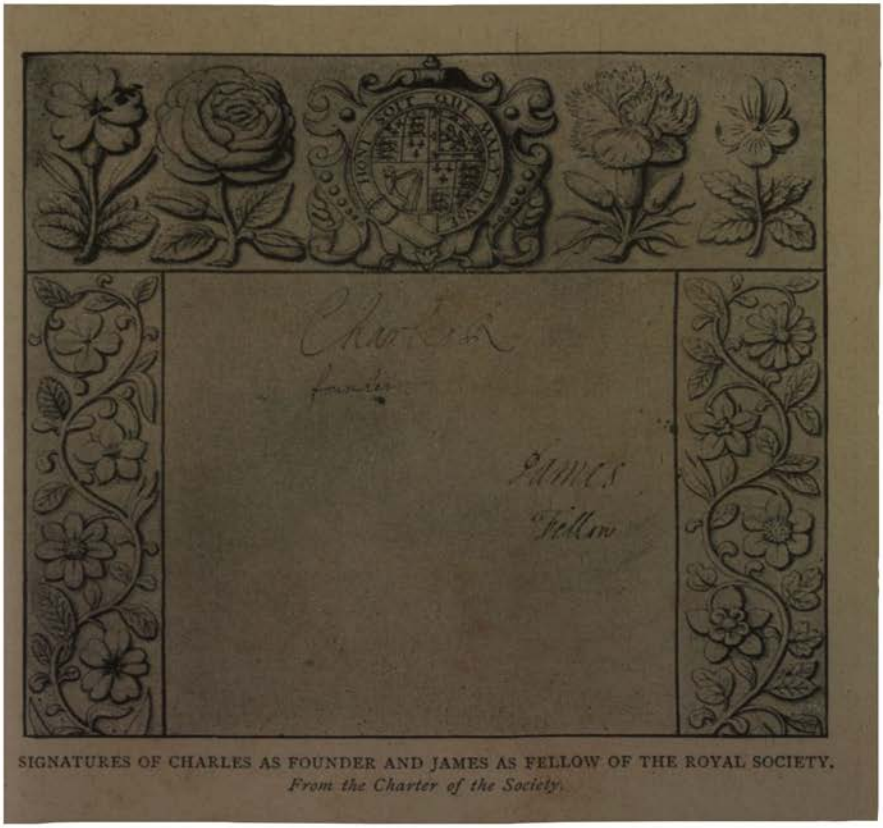
Solutio.

A dato puncto A ducatur recta infinita APCZ horizonti parallela et super eadem recta describatur tum Cycloïs quæcunque AQP recta AB (recta et si opus est producta) occurrens in puncto Q, tum Cycloïs alia ADC cujus basis et altitudo sit ad prioris basem et altitudinem respectivè ut AB ad AQ. Et hæc Cycloïs novissima transibit per punctum B et erit Curva illa linea in qua grave a puncto A ad punctum B vi gravitatis suæ citissime perveniat. Q. E. I.

SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE BRACHYSTOCHRONE, OR CURVE OF QUICKEST DESCENT, BY NEWTON.

ment in quicksilver, the descent of heavy bodies and the degree of acceleration therein, and divers other things of like nature."

The other little company of inquirers, who remained in London, was at last broken up by the troubles of the Second Protectorate; but it was revived at the Restoration by the return to London of the more eminent members of the Oxford group. Science suddenly became the fashion of the day. Charles was



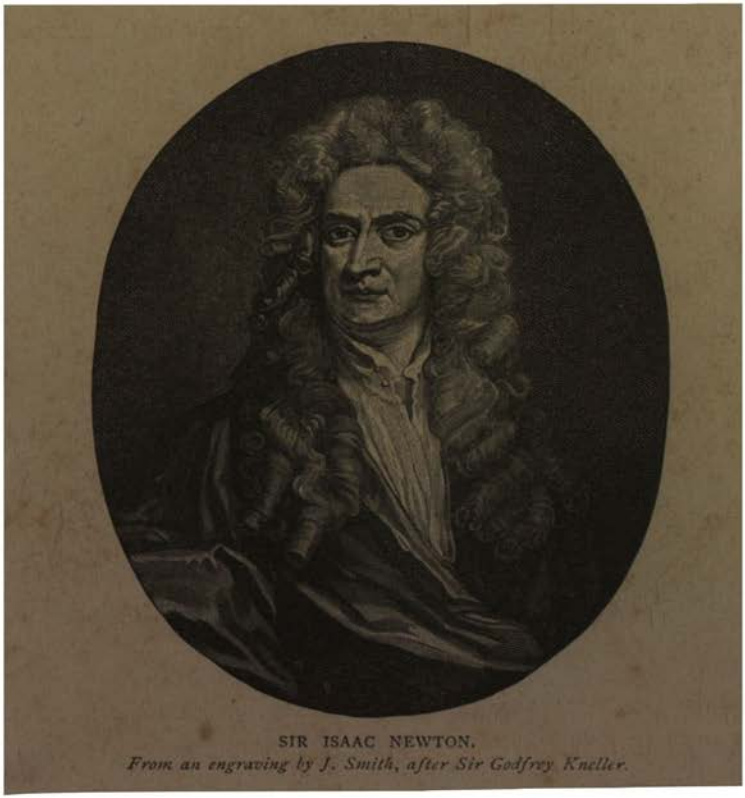
SIGNATURES OF CHARLES AS FOUNDER AND JAMES AS FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.
From the Charter of the Society.

himself a fair chymist, and took a keen interest in the problems of navigation. The Duke of Buckingham varied his freaks of riming, drinking, and fiddling by fits of devotion to his laboratory. Poets like Dryden and Cowley, courtiers like Sir Robert Murray and Sir Kenelm Digby, joined the scientific company to which in token of his sympathy with it the King gave the title of "The Royal Society." The curious glass toys called Prince Rupert's drops

THE OLD OBSERVING-ROOM, GREENWICH.

recall the scientific inquiries which, with the study of etching, amused the old age of the great cavalry-leader of the Civil War. Wits and fops crowded to the meetings of the new Society. Statesmen like Lord Somers felt honoured at being chosen its presidents. Its definite establishment marks the opening of a great age of scientific discovery in England. Almost every year of the half-century which followed saw some step made to a wider

1662



SIR ISAAC NEWTON.
From an engraving by J. Smith, after Sir Godfrey Kneller.

and truer knowledge. Our first national observatory rose at Greenwich, and modern astronomy began with the long series of astronomical observations which immortalized the name of Flamsteed. His successor, Halley, undertook the investigation of the tides, of comets, and of terrestrial magnetism. Hooke improved the microscope, and gave a fresh impulse to microscopical research. Boyle made the air-pump a means of advancing the science of pneumatics, and became the founder of experimental

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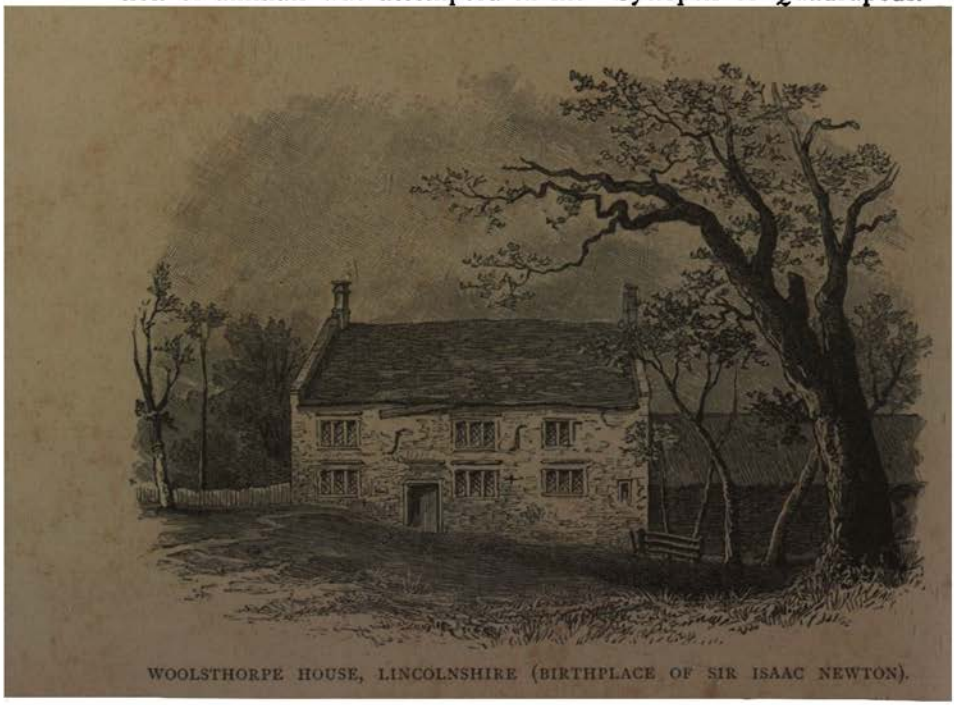
chymistry. Wilkins pointed forward to the science of philology in his scheme of a universal language. Sydenham introduced a careful observation of nature and facts which changed the whole face of medicine. The physiological researches of Willis first threw light upon the structure of the brain. Woodward was the founder of mineralogy. In his edition of Willoughby's "Ornithology," and in his own "History of Fishes," John Ray was the first to raise zoology to the rank of a science; and the first scientific classification of animals was attempted in his "Synopsis of Quadrupeds."

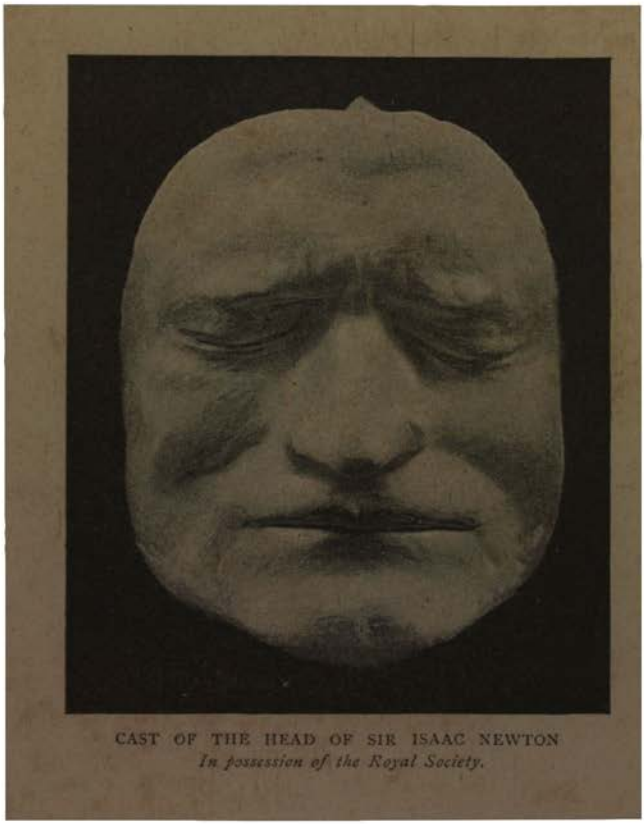


WOOLSTHORPE HOUSE, LINCOLNSHIRE (BIRTHPLACE OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON).

Modern botany began with his "History of Plants," and the researches of an Oxford professor, Robert Morrison; while Grew divided with Malpighi the credit of founding the study of vegetable physiology. But great as some of these names undoubtedly are, they are lost in the lustre of Isaac Newton. Newton was born at Woolsthorpe in Lincolnshire, on Christmas-day, in the memorable year which saw the outbreak of the Civil War. In the year of the Restoration he entered Cambridge, where the teaching of Isaac Barrow quickened his genius for mathematics, and where the

Newton 1642

method of Descartes had superseded the older modes of study. From the close of his Cambridge career his life became a series of great physical discoveries. At twenty-three he facilitated the calculation of planetary movements by his theory of Fluxions. The optical discoveries to which he was led by his experiments with the prism, and which he partly disclosed in the lectures which he delivered as Mathematical Professor at Cambridge, were em-



CAST OF THE HEAD OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON
In possession of the Royal Society.

bodied in the theory of light which he laid before the Royal Society on becoming a Fellow of it. His discovery of the law of gravitation had been made as early as 1666; but the erroneous estimate which was then generally received of the earth's diameter prevented him from disclosing it for sixteen years; and it was not till the eve of the Revolution that the "Principia" revealed to the world his new theory of the Universe.

1687

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The Latitudinarians

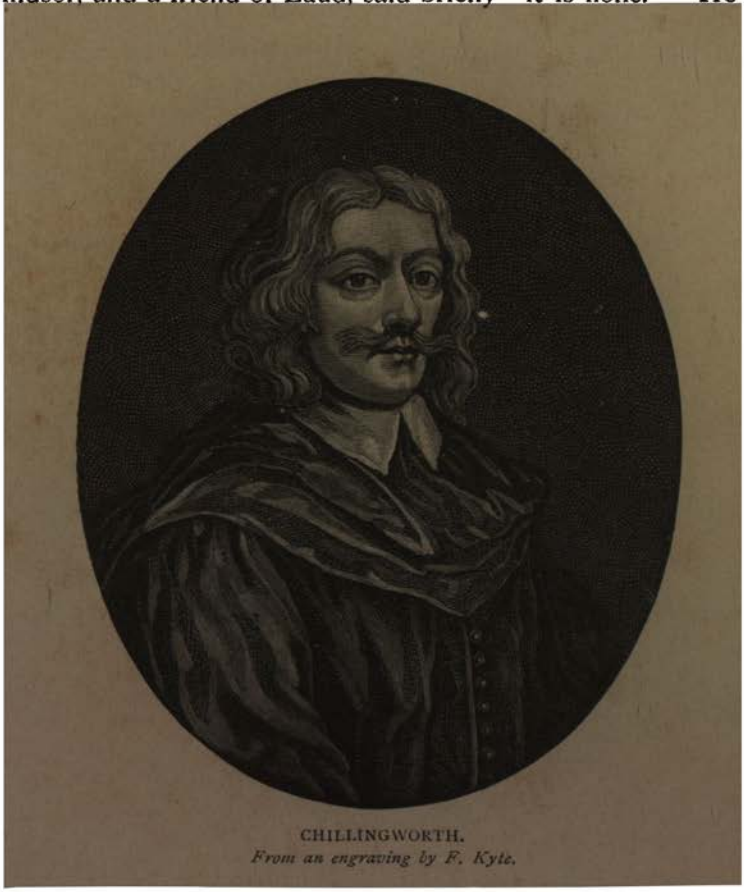
It is impossible to do more than indicate, in such a summary as we have given, the wonderful activity of directly scientific thought which distinguished the age of the Restoration. But the sceptical and experimental temper of mind which this activity disclosed was telling at the same time on every phase of the world around it. We see the attempt to bring religious speculation into

JOHN HALES.
Frontispiece to his "Tracts," 1677.

harmony with the conclusions of reason and experience in the school of Latitudinarian theologians which sprang from the group of thinkers that gathered on the eve of the Civil War round Lord Falkland at Great Tew. Whatever verdict history may pronounce on Falkland's political career, his name must ever remain memorable in the history of religious thought. A new era in English theology began with the speculations of the men he gathered

round him. Their work was above all to deny the authority of tradition in matters of faith, as Bacon had denied it in matters of physical research; and to assert in the one field as in the other the supremacy of reason as a test of truth. Of the authority of the Church, its Fathers, and its Councils, John Hales, a canon of Windsor, and a friend of Laud, said briefly "it is none." He dis-

Hales



CHILLINGWORTH.
From an engraving by F. Kyte.

missed with contempt the accepted test of universality. "Universality is such a proof of truth as truth itself is ashamed of. The most singular and strongest part of human authority is properly in the wisest and the most virtuous, and these, I trow, are not the most universal." William Chillingworth, a man of larger if not keener mind, had been taught by an early conversion to Catholicism, and by a speedy return, the insecurity of any basis

Chillingworth

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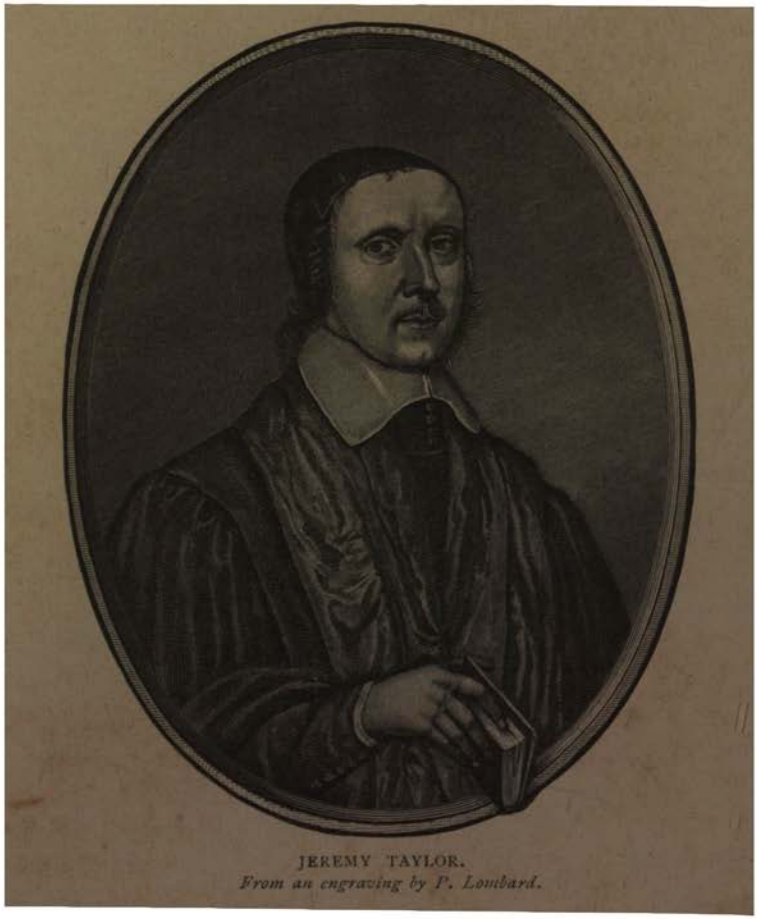
England and the Revolution
Taylor

for belief but that of private judgment. In his "Religion of Protestants" he set aside ecclesiastical tradition or Church authority as grounds of faith in favour of the Bible, but only of the Bible as interpreted by the common reason of men. Jeremy Taylor, the most brilliant of English preachers, a sufferer like Chillingworth



JEREMY TAYLOR.
From an engraving by P. Lombard.

on the royalist side during the troubles, and who was rewarded at the Restoration with the bishopric of Down, limited even the authority of the Scriptures themselves. Reason was the one means which Taylor approved of in interpreting the Bible; but the certainty of the conclusions which reason drew from the Bible varied, as he held, with the conditions of reason itself. In all but

the simplest truths of natural religion "we are not sure not to be deceived." The deduction of points of belief from the words of the Scriptures was attended with all the uncertainty and liability to error which sprang from the infinite variety of human understandings, the difficulties which hinder the discovery of truth, and the influences which divert the mind from accepting or rightly estimating it. It was plain to a mind like Chillingworth's that this denial of authority, this perception of the imperfection of reason in the discovery of absolute truth, struck as directly at the root of Protestant dogmatism as at the root of Catholic infallibility. "If Protestants are faulty in this matter [of claiming authority] it is for doing it too much and not too little. This presumptuous imposing of the senses of man upon the words of God, of the special senses of man upon the general words of God, and laying them upon men's consciences together under the equal penalty of death and damnation, this vain conceit that we can speak of the things of God better than in the words of God, this deifying our own interpretations and tyrannous enforcing them upon others, this restraining of the word of God from that latitude and generality, and the understandings of men from that liberty wherein Christ and His apostles left them, is and hath been the only foundation of all the schisms of the Church, and that which makes them immortal." In his "Liberty of Prophesying" Jeremy Taylor pleaded the cause of toleration with a weight of argument which hardly required the triumph of the Independents and the shock of Naseby to drive it home. But the freedom of conscience which the Independent founded on the personal communion of each soul with God, the Latitudinarian founded on the weakness of authority and the imperfection of human reason. Taylor pleads even for the Anabaptist and the Romanist. He only gives place to the action of the civil magistrate in "those religions whose principles destroy government," and "those religions—if there be any such—which teach ill life." Hales openly professed that he would quit the Church to-morrow if it required him to believe that all that dissented from it must be damned. Chillingworth denounced persecution in words of fire. "Take away this persecution, burning, cursing, damning of men for not subscribing the words of men as the words of God: require of Christians only to believe Christ and

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to call no man master but Him ; let them leave claiming infallibility that have no title to it, and let them that in their own words disclaim it, disclaim it also in their actions. . . . . Protestants are inexcusable if they do offer violence to other men's consciences." From the denunciation of intolerance the Latitudinarians passed easily to the dream of comprehension which had haunted every nobler soul since the "Utopia" of More. Hales based his loyalty to the Church of England on the fact that it was the largest and the most tolerant Church in Christendom. Chillingworth pointed out how many obstacles to comprehension were removed by such a simplification of belief as flowed from a rational theology. Like More, he asked for "such an ordering of the public service of God as that all who believe the Scripture and live according to it might without scruple or hypocrisy or protestation in any part join in it." Taylor, like Chillingworth, rested his hope of union on the simplification of belief. He saw a probability of error in all the creeds and confessions adopted by Christian Churches. "Such bodies of confessions and articles," he said, "must do much hurt." "He is rather the schismatic who makes unnecessary and inconvenient impositions, than he who disobeys them because he cannot do otherwise without violating his conscience." The Apostles' Creed in its literal meaning seemed to him the one term of Christian union which the Church had any right to impose.

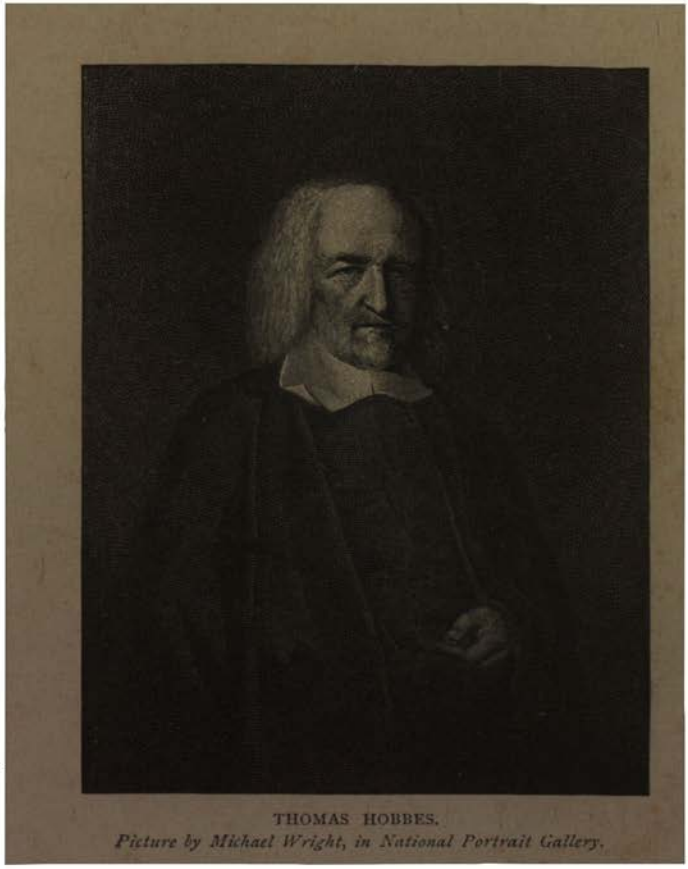
The later Latitudinarians

With the Restoration the Latitudinarians came at once to the front. They were soon distinguished from both Puritans and High Churchmen by their opposition to dogma, by their preference of reason to tradition whether of the Bible or the Church, by their basing religion on a natural theology, by their aiming at rightness of life rather than at correctness of opinion, by their advocacy of toleration and comprehension as the grounds of Christian unity. Chillingworth and Taylor found successors in the restless good sense of Burnet, the enlightened piety of Tillotson, and the calm philosophy of Bishop Butler. Meanwhile the impulse which such men were giving to religious speculation was being given to political and social inquiry by a mind of far greater keenness and power.

Hobbes

Bacon's favourite secretary was Thomas Hobbes. "He was beloved by his Lordship," Aubrey tells us, "who was wont to have

him walk in his delicate groves, where he did meditate; and when a notion darted into his mind, Mr. Hobbes was presently to write it down. And his Lordship was wont to say that he did it better than any one else about him; for that many times when he read their notes he scarce understood what they writ, because they understood it not clearly themselves." The long life of Hobbes 1588-1679



THOMAS HOBBES.
Picture by Michael Wright, in National Portrait Gallery.

covers a memorable space in our history. He was born in the year of the victory over the Armada; he died, at the age of ninety-two, only nine years before the Revolution. His ability soon made itself felt, and in his earlier days he was the secretary of Bacon, and the friend of Ben Jonson and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. But it was not till the age of fifty-four, when he withdrew to France on 1642

TITLE-PAGE OF HOBBES'S "LEVIATHAN," 1651.

the eve of the Great Rebellion, that his speculations were made known to the world in his treatise "De Cive." He joined the exiled Court at Paris, and became mathematical tutor to Charles the Second, whose love and regard for him seem to have been real to the end. But his post was soon forfeited by the appearance of his "Leviathan"; he was forbidden to approach the Court, and returned to England, where he seems to have acquiesced in the 1651 rule of Cromwell. The Restoration brought him a pension; but both his works were condemned by Parliament, and "Hobbism" became, ere he died, the popular synonym for irreligion and immorality. Prejudice of this kind sounded oddly in the case of a writer who had laid down, as the two things necessary to salvation, faith in Christ and obedience to the law. But the prejudice sprang from a true sense of the effect which the Hobbist philosophy must necessarily have on the current religion and the current notions of political and social morality. Hobbes was the first great English writer who dealt with the science of government from the ground, not of tradition, but of reason. It was in his treatment of man in the stage of human development which he supposed to precede that of society that he came most roughly into conflict with the accepted beliefs. Men, in his theory, were by nature equal, and their only natural relation was a state of war. It was no innate virtue of man himself which created human society out of this chaos of warring strengths. Hobbes in fact denied the existence of the more spiritual sides of man's nature. His hard and narrow logic dissected every human custom and desire, and reduced even the most sacred to demonstrations of a prudent selfishness. Friendship was simply a sense of social utility to one another. The so-called laws of nature, such as gratitude or the love of our neighbour, were in fact contrary to the natural passions of man, and powerless to restrain them. Nor had religion rescued man by the interposition of a Divine will. Nothing better illustrates the daring with which the new scepticism was to break through the theological traditions of the older world than the pitiless logic with which Hobbes assailed the very theory of revelation. "To say God hath spoken to man in a dream, is no more than to say man dreamed that God hath spoken to him." "To say one hath seen a vision, or heard a voice, is to

His political speculations

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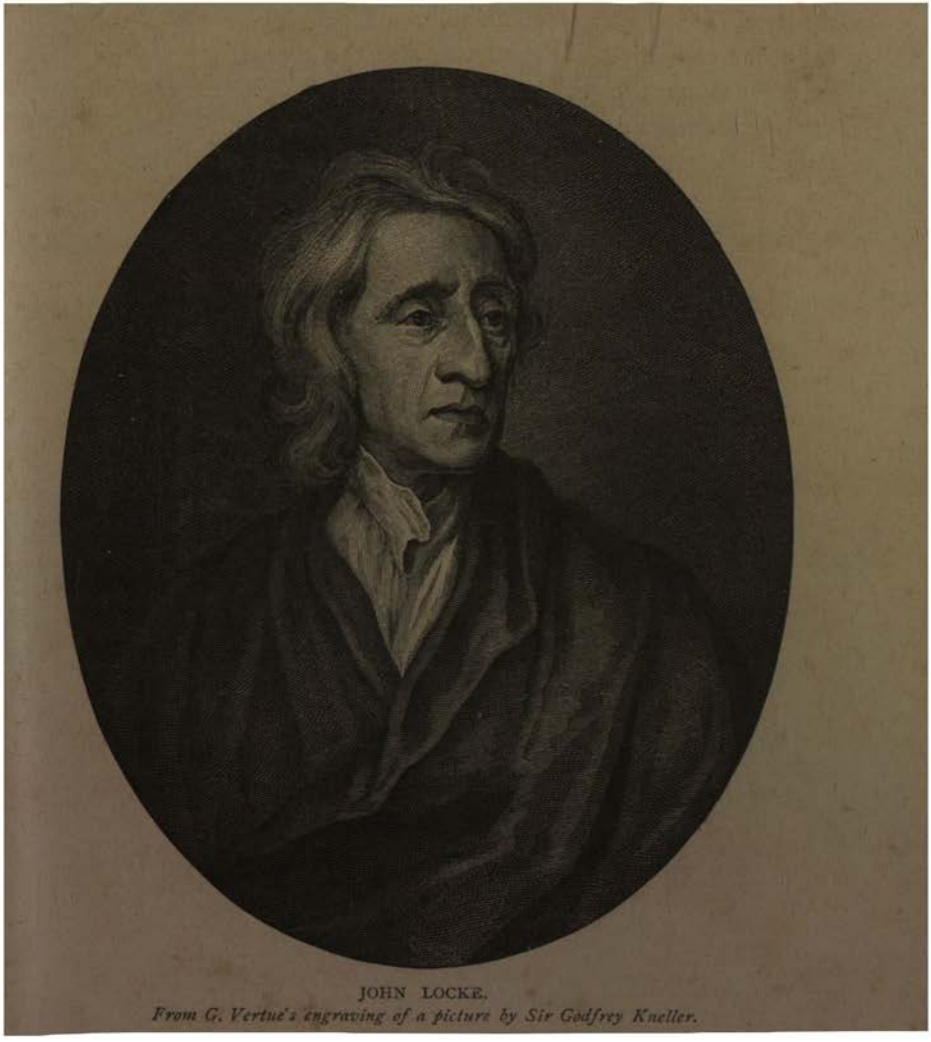
say he hath dreamed between sleeping and waking." Religion, in fact, was nothing more than "the fear of invisible powers;" and here, as in all other branches of human science, knowledge dealt with words and not with things. It was man himself who for his own profit created society, by laying down certain of his natural rights and retaining only those of self-preservation. A Covenant between man and man originally created "that great Leviathan called the Commonwealth or State, which is but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended." The fiction of such an "original contract" has long been dismissed from political speculation, but its effect at the time of its first appearance was immense. Its almost universal acceptance put an end to the religious and patriarchal theories of society, on which Kingship had till now founded its claim of a Divine right to authority which no subject might question. But if Hobbes destroyed the old ground of royal despotism, he laid a new and a firmer one. To create a society at all, he held that the whole body of the governed must have resigned all rights save that of self-preservation into the hands of a single ruler, who was the representative of all. Such a ruler was absolute, for to make terms with him implied a man making terms with himself. The transfer of rights was inalienable, and after generations were as much bound by it as the generation which made the transfer. As the head of the whole body, the ruler judged every question, settled the laws of civil justice or injustice, or decided between religion and superstition. His was a Divine Right, and the only Divine Right, because in him were absorbed all the rights of each of his subjects. It was not in any constitutional check that Hobbes looked for the prevention of tyranny, but in the common education and enlightenment as to their real end and the best mode of reaching it on the part of both subjects and Prince. And the real end of both was the weal of the Commonwealth at large. It was in laying boldly down this end of government, as well as in the basis of contract on which he made government repose, that Hobbes really influenced all later politics.

The Social Contract

John Locke

Locke, the foremost political thinker of the Restoration, derived political authority, like Hobbes, from the consent of the governed, and adopted the common weal as the end of Government. But

the practical temper of the time moulded the new theory into a form which contrasted strangely with that given to it by its first inventor. The political philosophy of Locke indeed was little



JOHN LOCKE.
From G. Vertue's engraving of a picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

more than a formal statement of the conclusions which the bulk of Englishmen had drawn from the great struggle of the Civil War. In his theory the people remain passively in possession of the power which they have delegated to the Prince, and have the

right to withdraw it if it be used for purposes inconsistent with the end which society was formed to promote. To the origin of all power in the people, and the end of all power for the people's good—the two great doctrines of Hobbes—Locke added the right of resistance, responsibility of princes to their subjects for a due execution of their trust, and the supremacy of legislative assemblies as the voice of the people itself. It was in this modified and enlarged form that the new political philosophy found general acceptance after the Revolution of 1688.

A GAME OF TENNIS.
Comenius, "Orbis sensualium pictus," English Edition, 1659.

BOYS' SPORTS.
Comenius, "Orbis sensualium pictus," English edition, 1659.

Section II.—The Restoration, 1660—1667

[*Authorities.*—Clarendon's detailed account of his own ministry in his "Life," Bishop Kennet's "Register," and Burnet's lively "History of my own Times," are our principal sources of information. We may add fragments of the autobiography of James the Second preserved in Macpherson's "Original Papers" (of very various degrees of value). For the relations of the Church and the Dissenters, see Neal's "History of the Puritans," Calamy's "Memoirs of the Ejected Ministers," Mr. Dixon's "Life of William Penn," Baxter's "Autobiography," and Bunyan's account of his sufferings in his various works. The social history of the time is admirably given by Pepys in his "Memoirs." Throughout the whole reign of Charles the Second, the "Constitutional History" of Mr. Hallam is singularly judicious and full in its information.]

The Restoration

When Charles the Second entered Whitehall, the work of the Long Parliament seemed undone. Not only was the Monarchy restored, but it was restored, in spite of the efforts of Sir Matthew Hale, without written restriction or condition on the part of the people, though with implied conditions on the part of Charles himself; and of the two great influences which had hitherto served as checks on its power, the first, that of Puritanism, had become hateful to the nation at large, while the second, the

HEAD OF THE MACE OF THE BAILIFF OF JERSEY, GIVEN BY CHARLES II.

tradition of constitutional liberty, was discredited by the issue of the Civil War. But amidst all the tumult of demonstrative loyalty the great "revolution of the seventeenth century," as it has justly been styled, went steadily on. The supreme power was gradually transferred from the Crown to the House of Commons. Step by step, Parliament drew nearer to a solution of the political problem which had so long foiled its efforts, the problem how to make its will the law of administrative action without itself undertaking the task of administration. It is only by carefully fixing our eyes on this transfer of power, and by noting the successive steps towards its realization, that we can understand the complex history of the Restoration and the Revolution.

The first acts of the new Government showed a sense that, loyal as was the temper of the nation, its loyalty was by no means the blind devotion of the Cavalier. The chief part in the Restoration had in fact been played by

the Presbyterians; and the Presbyterians were still powerful from their almost exclusive possession of the magistracy and all local authority. The first ministry which Charles ventured to form bore on it the marks of a compromise between this powerful party and their old opponents. Its most influential member indeed was Sir Edward Hyde, the adviser of the King during his exile, who soon became Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor. Lord Southampton, a steady royalist, accepted the post of Lord Treasurer; and the devotion of Ormond was rewarded with a dukedom and the dignity of Lord Steward. But the purely Parliamentary interest was represented by Monk, who remained Lord General of the army with the title of Duke of Albemarle; and though the King's brother, James, Duke of York, was made Lord Admiral, the administration of the fleet was virtually in the hands of one of Cromwell's followers, Montagu, the new Earl of Sandwich. An

HANDLE OF THE MACE OF THE BAILIFF OF JERSEY, GIVEN BY CHARLES II.

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old Puritan, Lord Say and Sele, was made Lord Privy Seal. Sir Ashley Cooper, a leading member of the same party, was rewarded for his activity in bringing about the Restoration first by a Privy Councillorship, and soon after by a barony and the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Of the two Secretaries of State, the one, Nicholas, was a devoted royalist; the other, Morice, was a steady Presbyterian. Of the thirty members of the Privy Council, twelve had borne arms against the King.

The Convention

It was clear that such a ministry was hardly likely to lend itself to a mere policy of reaction, and the temper of the new Government therefore fell fairly in with the temper of the Convention when that body, after declaring itself a Parliament, proceeded to consider the measures which were requisite for a settlement of the nation. The Convention had been chosen under the ordinances which excluded royalist "Malignants" from the right of voting; and the bulk of its members were men of Presbyterian sympathies, loyalist to the core, but as averse to despotism as the Long Parliament itself. In its earlier days a member who asserted that those who had fought against the King were as guilty as those who cut off his head was sternly rebuked from the Chair.

Bill of Indemnity

The first measure which was undertaken by the House, the Bill of Indemnity and Oblivion for all offences committed during the recent troubles, showed at once the moderate character of the Commons. In the punishment of the Regicides indeed, a Presbyterian might well be as zealous as a Cavalier. In spite of a Proclamation he had issued in the first days of his return, in which mercy was virtually promised to all the judges of the late King who surrendered themselves to justice, Charles pressed for revenge on those whom he regarded as his father's murderers, and the Lords went hotly with the King. It is to the credit of the Commons that they steadily resisted the cry for blood. By the original provisions of the Bill of Oblivion and Indemnity only seven of the living regicides were excluded from pardon; and though the rise of royalist fervour during the three months in which the bill was under discussion forced the House in the end to leave almost all to the course of justice, the requirement of a special Act of Parliament for the execution of those who had surrendered under the Proclamation protected the lives of most

of them. Twenty-eight of the King's judges were in the end arraigned at the bar of a court specially convened for their trial, but only thirteen were executed, and only one of these, General Harrison, had played any conspicuous part in the rebellion. Twenty others, who had been prominent in what were now called "the troubles" of the past twenty years, were declared incapable

STABLES AT MARPLE HALL, CHESHIRE.
Built by the Bradshaw family, 1669.
Earwaker, "East Cheshire."

of holding office under the State: and by an unjustifiable clause which was introduced into the Act before its final adoption, Sir Harry Vane and General Lambert, though they had taken no part in the King's death, were specially exempted from the general pardon. In dealing with the questions of property which arose

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THE RESTORATION 1660 TO 1667
Settlement of the Nation

from the confiscations and transfers of estates during the Civil Wars the Convention met with greater difficulties. No opposition was made to the resumption of all Crown-lands by the State, but the Convention desired to protect the rights of those who had purchased Church property, and of those who were in actual possession of private estates which had been confiscated by the Long Parliament, or by the Government which succeeded it. The bills however which they prepared for this purpose were delayed by the artifices of Hyde; and at the close of the session the bishops and the evicted royalists quietly re-entered into the occupation of their old possessions. The royalists indeed were far from being satisfied with this summary confiscation. Fines and sequestrations had impoverished all the steady adherents of the royal cause, and had driven many of them to forced sales of their estates; and a demand was made for compensation for their losses and the cancelling of these sales. Without such provisions, said the frenzied Cavaliers, the bill would be "a Bill of Indemnity for the King's enemies, and of Oblivion for his friends." But here the Convention stood firm. All transfers of property by sale were recognized

A BISHOP, TIME OF CHARLES II.
After W. Hollar.

as valid, and all claims of compensation for losses by sequestration were barred by the Act. From the settlement of the nation the Convention passed to the settlement of the relations between the nation and the Crown. So far was the constitutional work of the Long Parliament from being undone, that its more important measures were silently accepted as the base of future government. Not a voice demanded the restoration of the Star Chamber, or of monopolies, or of the Court of High Commission; no one disputed the justice of the condemnation of Ship-money, or the assertion of the sole right of Parliament to grant supplies to the Crown. The Militia, indeed, was placed in the King's hands; but the army was disbanded, though Charles was permitted to keep a few regiments for his guard. The revenue was fixed at £1,200,000; and this sum was granted to the King for life, a grant which might have been perilous for freedom had not the taxes provided to supply the sum fallen constantly below this estimate, while the current expenses of the Crown, even in time of peace, greatly exceeded it. But even for this grant a heavy price was exacted. Though the rights of the Crown over lands held, as the bulk of English

A JUDGE, TIME OF CHARLES II.
After W. Hollar.

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estates were held, in military tenure, had ceased to be of any great pecuniary value, they were indirectly a source of considerable power. The right of wardship and of marriage, above all, enabled the sovereign to exercise a galling pressure on every landed proprietor in his social and domestic concerns. Under Elizabeth, the right of wardship had been used to secure the education of all Catholic minors in the Protestant faith; and under James and his successor the charge of minors had been granted to court favourites or sold in open market to the highest bidder. But the real value of these rights to the Crown lay in the political pressure which it was able to exert through them on the country gentry. A squire was naturally eager to buy the good will of a sovereign who might soon be the guardian of his daughter and the administrator of his estate. But the same motives which made the Crown cling to this prerogative made the Parliament anxious to do away with it. Its efforts to bring this about under James the First had been foiled by the King's stubborn resistance; but the long interruption of these rights during the wars made their revival almost impossible at the Restoration. One of the first acts therefore of the Convention was to free the country gentry by abolishing the claims of the Crown to reliefs and wardship, purveyance, and pre-emption, and by the conversion of land held till then in chivalry into lands held in common socage. In lieu of his rights, Charles accepted a grant of £100,000 a year; a sum which it was originally purposed to raise by a tax on the lands thus exempted from feudal exactions; but which was provided for in the end, with less justice, by a general excise.

The Cavalier Parliament

Successful as the Convention had been in effecting the settlement of political matters, it failed in bringing about a settlement of the Church. In his proclamation from Breda Charles had promised to respect liberty of conscience, and to assent to any Acts of Parliament which should be presented to him for its security. The Convention was in the main Presbyterian; but it soon became plain that the continuance of a purely Presbyterian system was impossible. "The generality of the people," wrote Sharp, a shrewd Scotch observer, from London, "are doting after Prelacy and the Service Book." The Convention, however, still hoped for

The Church question

TITLE-PAGE OF BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, 1662.

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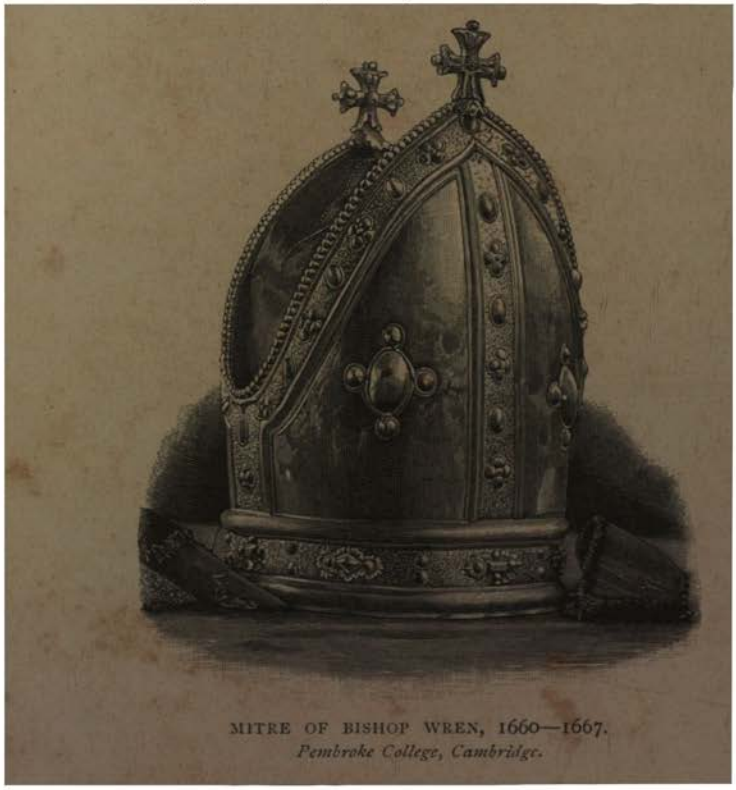
some modified form of Episcopalian government which would enable the bulk of the Puritan party to remain within the Church. A large part of the existing clergy, indeed, were Independents, and for these no compromise with Episcopacy was possible: but the greater number were moderate Presbyterians, who were ready "for fear of worse" to submit to such a plan of Church government as Archbishop Usher had proposed, a plan in which the bishop was only the president of a diocesan board of presbyters, and to accept the Liturgy with a few amendments and the omission of the "superstitious practices." It was to a compromise of this kind that the King himself leant at the beginning; and a royal declaration which announced his approval of the Puritan demands was read at a conference of the two parties, and with it a petition from the Independents praying for religious liberty. The King proposed to grant the prayer of the petition, not for the Independents only but for all Christians; but on the point of tolerating the Catholics, Churchmen and Puritans were at one, and a bill which was introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Matthew Hale to turn the declaration into a law was thrown out. A fresh conference was promised, but in the absence of any Parliamentary action the Episcopal party boldly availed themselves of their legal rights.



MITRE OF BISHOP WREN, 1660—1667.
Pembroke College, Cambridge.

The ejected clergy who still remained alive entered again into their parsonages, the bishops returned to their sees, and the dissolution of the Convention Parliament destroyed the last hope of an ecclesiastical compromise. The tide of loyalty had in fact been rising fast during its session, and its influence was already seen in a shameful outrage wrought under the very orders of the Convention itself. The bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton were torn from their graves and hung on gibbets at Tyburn, while those of Pym and Blake were cast out of Westminster Abbey into St. Margaret's churchyard. But in the elections for the new Parliament the zeal for Church and King swept all hope of moderation and compromise before it. "Malignity" had now ceased to be a crime, and voters long deprived of the suffrage, vicars, country gentlemen, farmers, with the whole body of the Catholics, rushed again to the poll. The Presbyterians sank in the Cavalier Parliament to a handful of fifty members. The new House of Commons was made up for the most part of young men, of men, that is, who had but a faint memory of the Stuart tyranny of their childhood, but who had a keen memory of living from manhood beneath the tyranny of the Commonwealth. Their very bearing was that of wild revolt against the Puritan past. To a staid observer, Roger Pepys, they seemed a following of "the most profane, swearing fellows that ever I heard in my life." The zeal of the Parliament at its outset, indeed, far outran that of Charles or his ministers. Though it

MACE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.
New head and base made 1660.
Antiquary.

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confirmed the other acts of the Convention, it could with difficulty be brought to confirm the Act of Indemnity. The Commons pressed for the prosecution of Vane. Vane was protected alike by the spirit of the law and by the King's pledge to the Convention that, even if convicted of treason, he would not suffer him to be brought to the block. But he was now brought to trial on the charge of treason against a King "kept out of his royal authority by traitors and rebels," and his spirited defence served as an excuse for his execution. "He is too dangerous a man to let live," Charles wrote with characteristic coolness, "if we can safely put him out of the way." But the new members were yet better churchmen than loyalists. A common suffering had thrown the squires and the Episcopalian clergy together, and for the first time since the Reformation the English gentry were ardent not for King only, but for Church and King. At the opening of their session the Commons ordered every member to receive the communion, and the League and Covenant to be solemnly burnt by the common hangman in Westminster Hall. The bill excluding bishops from the House of Lords was repealed. The conference at the Savoy between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians broke up in anger, and the few alterations made in the Liturgy were made with a view to disgust rather than to conciliate the Puritan party.

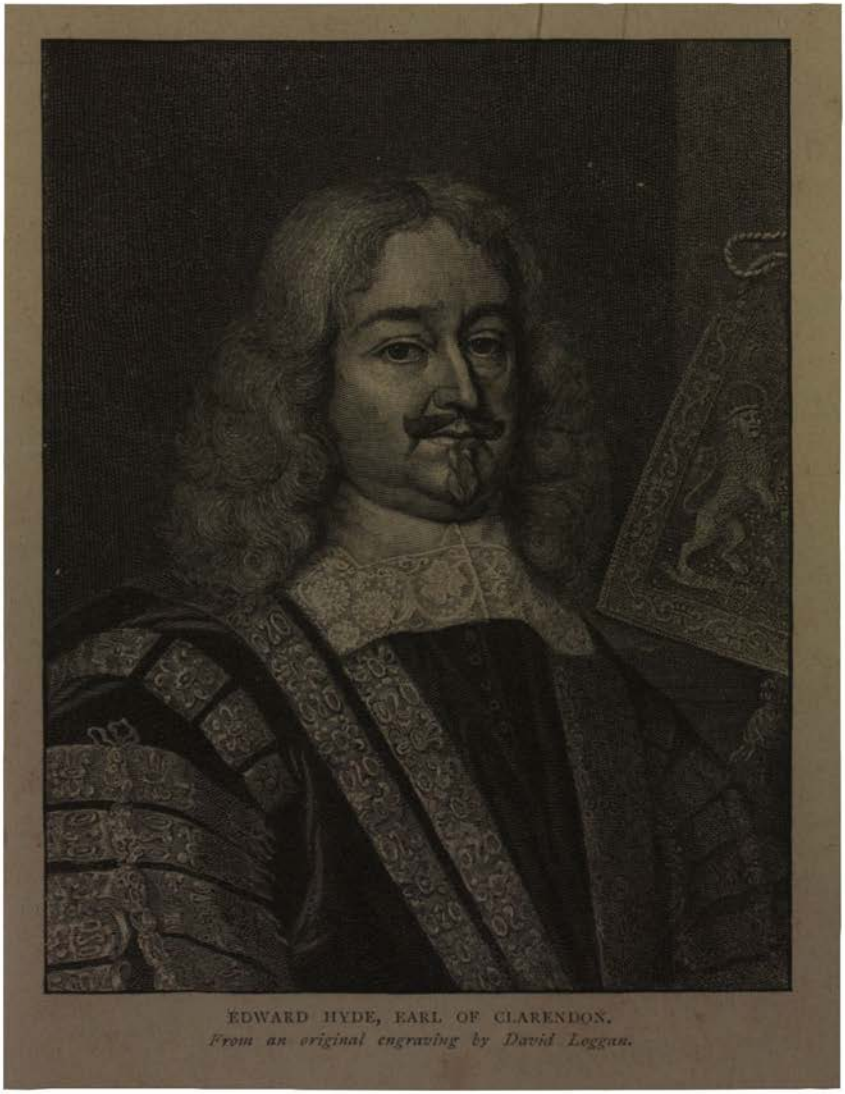
Parliament of 1661

Clarendon

The temper of the new Parliament, however, was not a mere temper of revenge. Its wish was to restore the constitutional system which the civil war had violently interrupted, and the royalists were led by the most active of the constitutional loyalists who had followed Falkland in 1642, Hyde, now Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor. The Parliament and the Church were in his conception essential parts of the system of English government, through which the power of the Crown was to be exercised; and under his guidance Parliament turned to the carrying out of the principle of uniformity in Church as well as in State on which the minister was resolved. The chief obstacle to such a policy lay in the Presbyterians, and the strongholds of this party were in the corporations of the boroughs, which practically returned the borough members. An attempt was made to drive the Presbyterians from municipal posts by a severe Corporation Act, which required a reception of the Communion according to the rites of

Corporation Act

the Anglican Church, a renunciation of the League and Covenant, and a declaration that it was unlawful on any grounds to take up arms against the King, before admission to municipal offices. A



EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON.
From an original engraving by David Loggan.

more deadly blow was dealt at the Puritans in the renewal of the Act of Uniformity. Not only was the use of the Prayer-book, and the Prayer-book only, enforced in all public worship, but an unfeigned consent and assent was demanded from every minister

Act of Uniformity

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of the Church to all which was contained in it; while, for the first time since the Reformation, all orders save those conferred by the hands of bishops were legally disallowed. The declaration exacted

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER.
From the painting by Sir Peter Lely in the possession of the present Earl of Shaftesbury.

from corporations was exacted from the clergy, and a pledge was required that they would seek to make no change in Church or State. It was in vain that Ashley opposed the bill fiercely in the Lords, that the peers pleaded for pensions to the ejected ministers

and for the exemption of schoolmasters from the necessity of subscription, and that even Clarendon, who felt that the King's word was at stake, pressed for the insertion of clauses enabling the Crown to grant dispensations from its provisions. Every suggestion of compromise was rejected by the Commons; and Charles at last assented to the bill, while he promised to suspend its execution by the exercise of his prerogative.

St. Bartholomew's Day 1662

The Anglican Parliament however was resolute to enforce the law; and on St. Bartholomew's day, the last day allowed for compliance with its requirements, nearly two thousand rectors and vicars, or about a fifth of the English clergy, were driven from their parishes as Nonconformists. No such sweeping alteration in the religious aspect of the Church had ever been seen before. The changes of the Reformation had been brought about with little change in the clergy itself. Even the severities of the High Commission under Elizabeth ended in the expulsion of a few hundreds. If Laud had gone zealously to work in emptying Puritan pulpits, his zeal had been to a great extent foiled by the restrictions of the law and by the growth of Puritan sentiment in the clergy as a whole. A far wider change had been brought about by the Civil War; but the change had been gradual, and had ostensibly been wrought for the most part on political or moral rather than on religious grounds. The parsons expelled were expelled as "malignants" or as unfitted for their office by idleness or vice or inability to preach. But the change wrought by St. Bartholomew's day was a distinctly religious change, and it was a change which in its suddenness and completeness stood utterly alone. The rectors and vicars who were driven out were the most learned and the most active of their order. The bulk of the great livings throughout the country were in their hands. They stood at the head of the London clergy, as the London clergy stood in general repute at the head of their class throughout England. They occupied the higher posts at the two Universities. No English divine, save Jeremy Taylor, rivalled Howe as a preacher. No parson was so renowned a controversialist, or so indefatigable a parish priest, as Baxter. And behind these men stood a fifth of the whole body of the clergy, men whose zeal and labour had diffused throughout the country a greater appearance of piety and

S. MARGARET'S, WESTMINSTER, 1692—1720.
From an engraving by J. Brock,

religion than it had ever displayed before. But the expulsion of these men was far more to the Church of England than the loss of their individual services. It was the definite expulsion of a great party which from the time of the Reformation had played the most active and popular part in the life of the Church. It was the close of an effort which had been going on ever since Elizabeth's accession to bring the English Communion into closer relations with the Reformed Communions of the Continent, and into greater harmony with the religious instincts of the nation at large. The Church of England stood from that moment isolated and alone among all the Churches of the Christian world. The Reformation had severed it irretrievably from those which still clung to the obedience of the Papacy. By its rejection of all but episcopal orders, the Act of Uniformity severed it as irretrievably from the general body of the Protestant Churches, whether Lutheran or Reformed. And while thus cut off from all healthy religious communion with the world without, it sank into immobility within. With the expulsion of the Puritan clergy, all change, all efforts after reform, all national development, suddenly stopped. From that time to this the Episcopal Church has been unable to meet the varying spiritual needs of its adherents by any modification of its government or its worship. It stands alone among all the religious bodies of Western Christendom in its failure through two hundred years to devise a single new service of prayer or of praise. But if the issues of St. Bartholomew's day have been harmful to the spiritual life of the English Church, they have been in the highest degree advantageous to the cause of religious liberty. At the Restoration religious freedom seemed again to have been lost. Only the Independents and a few despised sects, such as the Quakers, upheld the right of every man to worship God according to the bidding of his own conscience. The bulk of the Puritan party, with the Presbyterians at its head, was at one with its opponents in desiring a uniformity of worship, if not of belief, throughout the land; and, had the two great parties within the Church held together, their weight would have been almost irresistible. Fortunately the great severance of St. Bartholomew's day drove out the Presbyterians from the Church to which they clung, and forced them into a general union

Its religious results

Its political results

The Heretical SYNOD at Salters-Hall. p.95
All you that are for the Trinity Come up
We have Subscribed
The Self Same Thing They will affirm,
One way, and t'other Nor
As if Religion was intended
For nothing else but to be mended

SATIRE ON PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS, C. 1690—1710.
Print in British Museum.

with sects which they had hated till then almost as bitterly as the bishops themselves. A common suffering soon blended the Nonconformists into one. Persecution broke down before the numbers, the wealth, and the political weight of the new sectarians; and the Church, for the first time in its history, found itself confronted with an organised body of Dissenters without its pale. The impossibility of crushing such a body as this wrested from English statesmen the first legal recognition of freedom of worship in the Toleration Act; their rapid growth in later times has by degrees stripped the Church of almost all the exclusive privileges which it enjoyed as a religious body, and now threatens what remains of its official connexion with the State. With these remoter consequences however we are not as yet concerned. It is enough to note here that with the Act of Uniformity and the expulsion of the Puritan clergy a new element in our religious and political history, the element of Dissent, the influence of the Nonconformist churches, comes first into play.

A NONCONFORMIST MINISTER.
Tempest's "Cries of London," 1688—1702.

The sudden outbreak and violence of the persecution turned the disappointment of the Presbyterians into despair. Many were for retiring to Holland, others proposed flight to New England and the American colonies. Charles however was anxious to use the strife between the two great bodies of Protestants so as to secure toleration for the Catholics, and revive at the same time his prerogative of dispensing with the execution of laws; and fresh hopes of protection were raised by a royal proclamation, which expressed the King's resolve to exempt from the penalties of the

The Persecution

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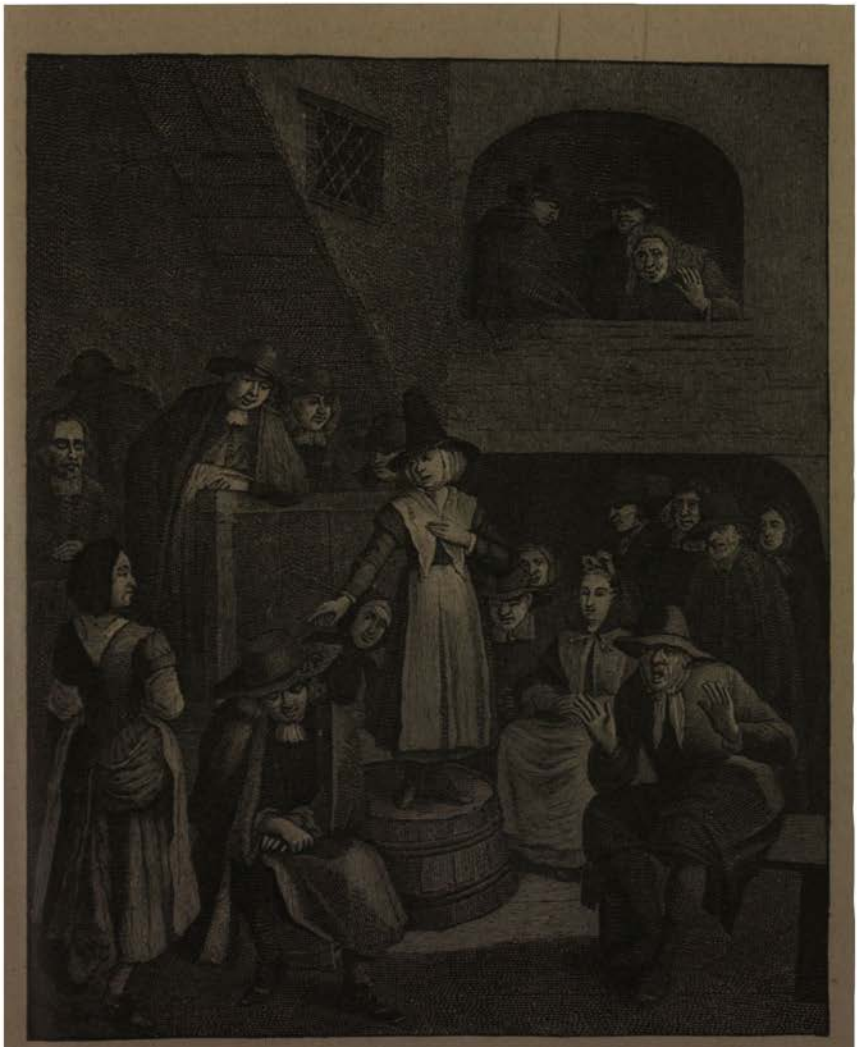
Act, "those who, living peaceably, do not conform themselves thereunto, through scruple and tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way." A bill introduced in 1663, in redemption of a pledge in the declaration itself, gave Charles the power to dispense, not only with the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, but with the penalties provided by all laws which enforced religious conformity, or which imposed religious tests. But if the Presbyterian leaders in the council had stooped to accept the aid of the declaration, the bulk of the Dissidents had no mind to have their grievances used as a means of procuring by a side wind toleration for Roman Catholics, or of building up again that dispensing power which the civil wars had thrown down. The Churchmen, too, whose hatred for the Dissidents had been embittered by suspicions of a secret league between the Dissidents and the Catholics in which the King was taking part, were resolute in opposition. The Houses therefore struck simultaneously at both their opponents. They forced Charles by an address to withdraw his pledge of toleration. They then extorted from him a proclamation for the banishment of all Catholic priests, and followed this up by a Conventicle Act, which punished with fine, imprisonment, and transportation on a third offence all persons who met in greater number than five for any religious worship save that of the Common Prayer; while return or escape from banishment was punished by death. The Five Mile Act, a year later, completed the code of persecution. By its provisions, every clergyman who had been driven out by the Act of Uniformity was called on to swear that he held it unlawful under any pretext to take up arms against the King, and that he would at no time "endeavour any alteration of government in Church and State." In case of refusal, he was forbidden to go within five miles of any borough, or of any place where he had been wont to minister. As the main body of the Nonconformists belonged to the city and trading classes, the effect of this measure was to rob them of any religious teaching at all. A motion to impose the oath of the Five Mile Act on every person in the nation was rejected in the same session by a majority of only six. The sufferings of the Nonconformists indeed could hardly fail to tell on the sympathies of the people. The thirst for revenge, which

First Declaration of Indulgence
1662

Conventicle Act
1664

1665

had been roused by the violence of the Presbyterians in their hour of triumph, was satisfied by their humiliation in the hour of defeat.



A QUAKERS' MEETING IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
Satirical print, probably by Marcel Lauron.

The sight of pious and learned clergymen driven from their homes and their flocks, of religious meetings broken up by the constables, of preachers set side by side with thieves and outcasts in the dock,

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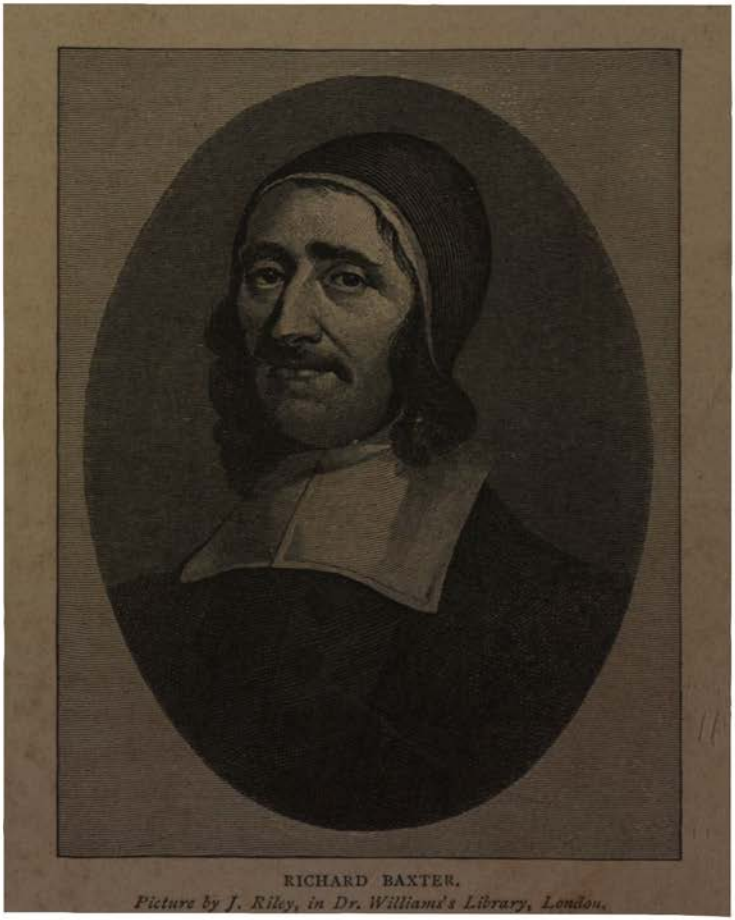
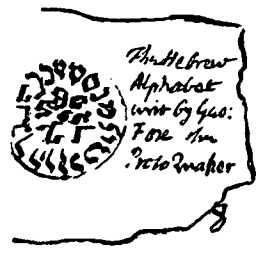
of gaols crammed with honest enthusiasts whose piety was their only crime, pleaded more eloquently for toleration than all the reasoning in the world. We have a clue to the extent of the persecution from what we know to have been its effect on a single sect. The Quakers had excited alarm by their extravagances of



RICHARD BAXTER.
Picture by J. Riley, in Dr. Williams's Library, London.

manner, their refusal to bear arms or to take oaths; and a special Act was passed for their repression. They were one of the smallest of the Nonconformist bodies, but more than four thousand were soon in prison, and of these five hundred were imprisoned in London alone. The King's Declaration of Indulgence, twelve years later, set free twelve hundred Quakers who had found their

way to the gaols. Of the sufferings of the expelled clergy one of their own number, Richard Baxter, has given us an account. "Many hundreds of them, with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread. . . . Their congregations had enough to do, besides a small maintenance, to help them out of prisons, or to maintain them there. Though they were as frugal as possible they could hardly live; some lived on little more than brown bread and water, many had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks' time; their allowance could scarce afford them bread and cheese. One went to plow six days and preached on the Lord's Day. Another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood." But poverty was the least of their sufferings. They were jeered at by the players. They were hooted through the streets by the mob. "Many of the ministers, being afraid to lay down their ministry after they had been ordained to it, preached to such as would hear them in fields and private houses, till they were apprehended and cast into gaols, where many of them perished." They were excommunicated in the Bishops' Court, or fined for non-attendance at church; and a crowd of informers grew up who made a trade of detecting the meetings they held at midnight. Alleyn, the author of the well-known "Alarm to the Unconverted," died at thirty-six from the sufferings he endured in Taunton Gaol. Vavasour Powell, the apostle of Wales, spent the eleven years which followed the Restoration in prisons at Shrewsbury, Southsea, and Cardiff, till he perished in the Fleet. John Bunyan was for twelve years a prisoner at Bedford.



From MS. in the British Museum.

The Pilgrim's Progress

We have already seen the atmosphere of excited feeling in which the youth of Bunyan had been spent. From his childhood he heard heavenly voices, and saw visions of heaven; from his childhood, too, he had been wrestling with an overpowering sense of sin, which sickness and repeated escapes from death did much as he grew up to deepen. But in spite of his self-reproaches his

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life was a religious one; and the purity and sobriety of his youth was shown by his admission at seventeen into the ranks of the "New Model." Two years later the war was over, and Bunyan though hardly twenty found himself married to a "godly" wife, as young and penniless as himself. So poor were the young couple that they could scarce muster a spoon and a plate between them; and the poverty of their home deepened, perhaps, the gloom of the

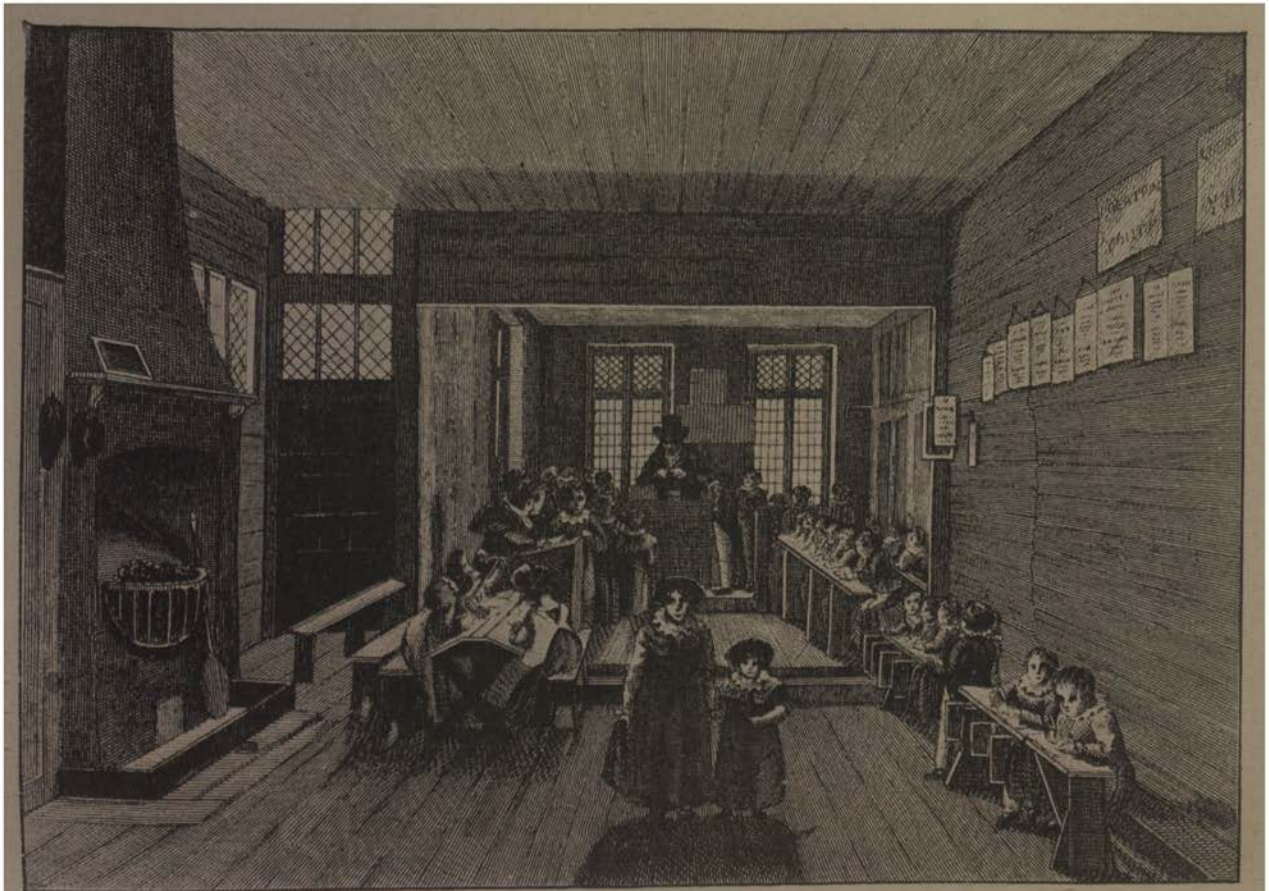
BUNYAN'S MEETING-HOUSE, SOUTHWARK.
Built 1687.
"*Londina Illustrata.*"

young tinker's restlessness and religious depression. His wife did what she could to comfort him, teaching him again to read and write, for he had forgotten his school learning, and reading with him in two little "godly" books which formed his library. But the darkness only gathered the thicker round his imaginative soul. "I walked," he tells us of this time, "to a neighbouring town; and sate down upon a settle in the street, and fell into a very deep

pause about the most fearful state my sin had brought me to; and after long musing I lifted up my head; but methought I saw as if the sun that shineth in the heavens did grudge to give me light; and as if the very stones in the street and tiles upon the houses did band themselves against me. Methought that they all combined together to banish me out of the world. I was abhorred of them, and wept to dwell among them, because I had sinned against the Saviour. Oh, how happy now was every creature over I! for they stood fast and kept their station. But I was gone and lost." At last, after more than two years of this struggle, the darkness broke. Bunyan felt himself "converted," and freed from the burthen of his sin. He joined a Baptist church at Bedford, and a few years later he became famous as a preacher. As he held no formal post of minister in the congregation, his preaching even under the Protectorate was illegal and "gave great offence," he tells us, "to the doctors and priests of that county," but he persisted with little real molestation until the Restoration. Six months however after the King's return he was committed to Bedford Gaol on a charge of preaching in unlicensed conventicles; and his refusal to promise to abstain from preaching kept him there twelve years. The gaol was crowded with prisoners like himself, and amongst them he continued his ministry, supporting himself by making tagged thread laces, and finding some comfort in the Bible, the "Book of Martyrs," and the writing materials which he was suffered to have with him in his prison. But he was in the prime of life, his age was thirty-two when he was imprisoned; and the inactivity and severance from his wife and little children was hard to bear. "The parting with my wife and poor children," he says in words of simple pathos, "hath often been to me in this place as the pulling of the flesh from the bones, and that not only because I am somewhat too fond of those great mercies, but also because I should have often brought to my mind the many hardships, miseries, and wants that my poor family was like to meet with should I be taken from them, especially my poor blind child, who lay nearer to my heart than all besides. Oh, the thoughts of the hardships I thought my poor blind one might go under would break my heart to pieces. 'Poor child,' thought I, 'what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world! Thou must be

1653

Bunyan in prison



CHARITY SCHOOL UNDER BUNYAN'S MEETING-HOUSE, SOUTHWARK.
"*Londina Illustrata.*"

beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities,' though I cannot now endure the wind should blow upon thee.'" But suffering could not break his purpose, and Bunyan found compensation for the narrow bounds of his prison in the wonderful activity of his pen. Tracts, controversial treatises, poems, meditations, his "Grace Abounding," and his "Holy City," followed each other in quick succession. It was in his gaol that he wrote the first and greatest part of his "Pilgrim's Progress." Its publication was the earliest result of his deliverance at the Declaration of Indulgence, and the popularity which it enjoyed from the first proves that the religious sympathies of the English people were still mainly Puritan. Before Bunyan's death in 1688 ten editions of the "Pilgrim's Progress" had already been sold; and though even Cowper hardly dared to quote it a century later for fear of moving a smile in the polite world about him its favour among the middle classes and the poor has grown steadily from its author's day

BUNYAN'S DREAM.
Frontispiece to "Pilgrim's Progress," 4th Edition, 1680.

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to our own. It is now the most popular and the most widely known of all English books. In none do we see more clearly the new imaginative force which had been given to the common life of Englishmen by their study of the Bible. Its English is the simplest and the homeliest English which has ever been used by any great English writer; but it is the English of the Bible. The images of the "Pilgrim's Progress" are the images of prophet and evangelist; it borrows for its tenderer outbursts the very verse of the Song of Songs, and pictures the Heavenly City in the words of the Apocalypse. But so completely has the Bible become Bunyan's life that one feels its phrases as the natural expression of his thoughts. He has lived in the Bible till its words have become his own. He has lived among its visions and voices of heaven till all sense of possible unreality has died away. He tells his tale with such a perfect naturalness that allegories become living things, that the Slough of Despond and Doubting Castle are as real to us as places we see every day, that we know Mr. Legality and Mr. Worldly Wiseman as if we had met them in the street. It is in this amazing reality of impersonation that Bunyan's imaginative genius specially displays itself. But this is far from being his only excellence. In its range, in its directness, in its simple grace, in the ease with which it changes from lively dialogue to dramatic action, from simple pathos to passionate earnestness, in the subtle and delicate fancy which often suffuses its childlike words, in its playful humour, its bold character-painting, in the even and balanced power which passes without effort from the Valley of the Shadow of Death to the land "where the Shining Ones commonly walked, because it was on the borders of heaven," in its sunny kindliness unbroken by one bitter word, the "Pilgrim's Progress" is among the noblest of English poems. For if Puritanism had first discovered the poetry which contact with the spiritual world awakes in the meanest soul, Bunyan was the first of the Puritans who revealed this poetry to the outer world. The journey of Christian from the City of Destruction to the Heavenly City is simply a record of the life of such a Puritan as Bunyan himself, seen through an imaginative haze of spiritual idealism in which its commonest incidents are heightened and glorified. He is himself the pilgrim who flies from the City of Destruction, who climbs the

hill Difficulty, who faces Apollyon, who sees his loved ones cross the river of Death towards the Heavenly City, and how, because "the hill on which the City was framed was higher than the clouds, they therefore went up through the region of the air, sweetly talking as they went."

The War with Holland

The success, however, of the system of religious repression rested mainly on the maintenance of peace; and while Bunyan

BABYLONIAN STONE FOUND IN KNIGHTRIDER STREET, LONDON.
British Museum.

was lying in Bedford Gaol, and the Church was carrying on its bitter persecution of the Nonconformists, England was plunging into a series of bitter humiliations and losses abroad. The old commercial jealousy between the Dutch and English, which had been lulled by a formal treaty in 1662, but which still lived on in petty squabbles at sea, was embittered by the cession of Bombay—a port which gave England an entry into the profitable trade with India—and by the establishment of a West Indian

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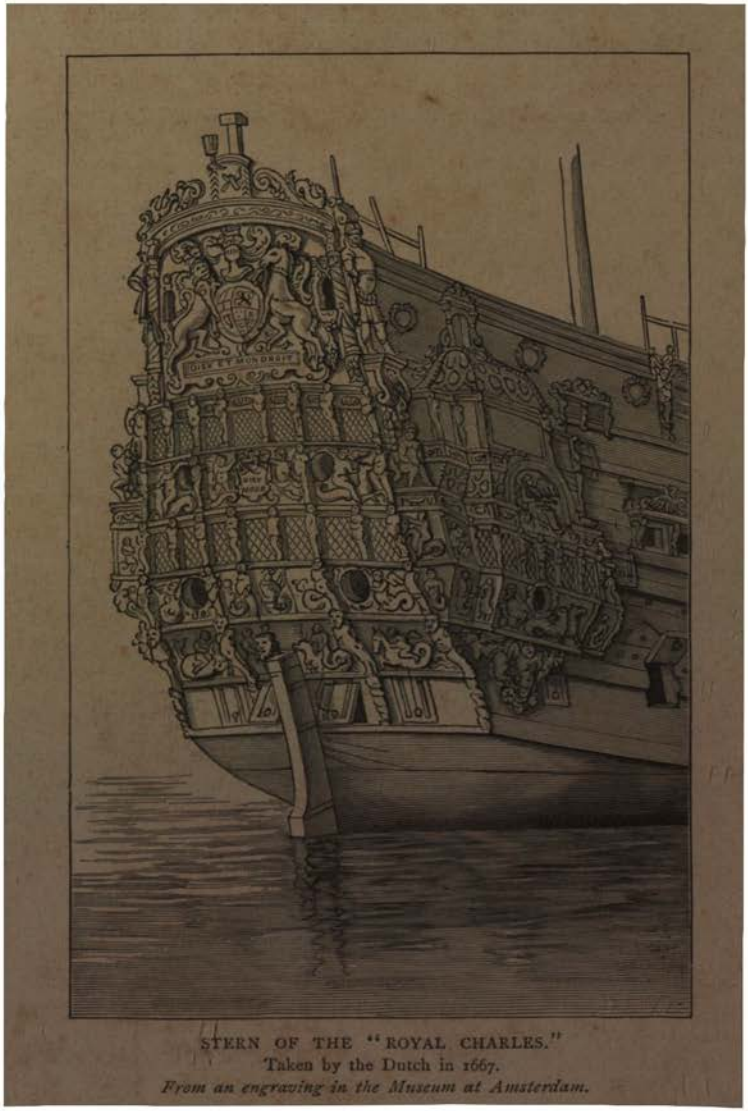
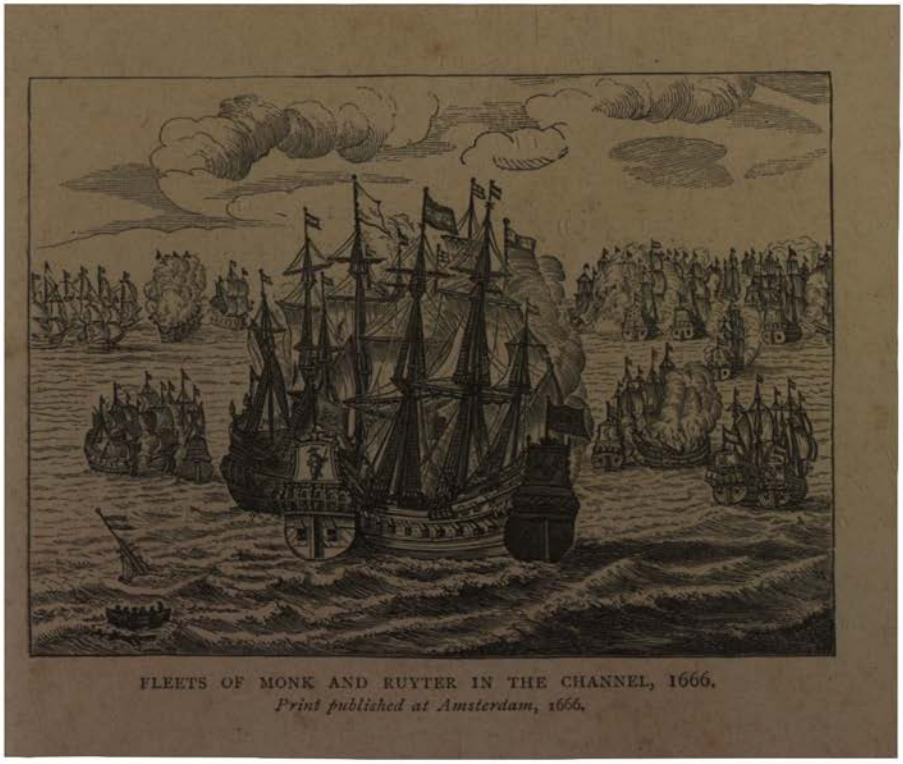
Company in London which opened a traffic with the Gold Coast of Africa. The quarrel was fanned into a war. Parliament voted a



STERN OF THE "ROYAL CHARLES."
Taken by the Dutch in 1667.
From an engraving in the Museum at Amsterdam.

large supply unanimously; and the King was won by hopes of the ruin of the Dutch Presbyterian and republican government, and by his resentment at the insults he had suffered from Holland in his

exile. The war at sea which followed was a war of giants. An obstinate battle off Lowestoft ended in a victory for the English fleet: but in an encounter the next year with De Ruyter off the North Foreland Monk and his fleet after two days' fighting were only saved from destruction by the arrival of Prince Rupert. The dogged admiral renewed the fight, but the combat again ended in De Ruyter's favour and the English took refuge in the Thames. 1665



FLEETS OF MONK AND RUYTER IN THE CHANNEL, 1666.
Print published at Amsterdam, 1666.

Their fleet was indeed ruined, but the losses of the enemy had been hardly less. "English sailors may be killed," said De Witt, "but they cannot be conquered;" and the saying was as true of one side as the other. A third battle, as hard-fought as its predecessors, ended in the triumph of the English, and their fleet sailed along the coast of Holland, burning ships and towns. But Holland was as unconquerable as England herself, and the Dutch fleet was soon again refitted and was joined in the Channel by the French. 1666

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Meanwhile, calamity at home was added to the sufferings of the war. In the preceding year a hundred thousand Londoners had

> This is to give notice, That His Majesty hath declared his positive resolution not to *heal* any more after the end of this present *April* until *Michaelmas* next: And this is published to the end that all Persons concerned may take notice thereof, and not receive a disappointment.
>
> *London, April 22.*
>
> NOTICE RELATING TO THE PLAGUE.
> "*The Intelligencer*," *April* 24, 1665.

died in six months of the Plague which broke out in the crowded streets of the capital; and the Plague was followed now by a fire, which, beginning in the heart of London, reduced the whole city to

Fire of London

UNFINISHED TAPESTRY SAVED FROM THE GREAT FIRE, 1666, IN A HOUSE IN CHEAPSIDE.
Guildhall Museum.

ashes from the Tower to the Temple. Thirteen thousand houses and ninety churches were destroyed. The loss of merchandise

and property was beyond count. The Treasury was empty, and neither ships nor forts were manned when the Dutch fleet appeared at the Nore, advanced unopposed up the Thames to Gravesend, forced the boom which protected the Medway, burned three men-of war which lay anchored in the river, and withdrew only to sail proudly along the coast, the masters of the Channel.

BURNING OF ENGLISH SHIPS AT SHEERNESS, 1667.
Contemporary Dutch print, in British Museum.

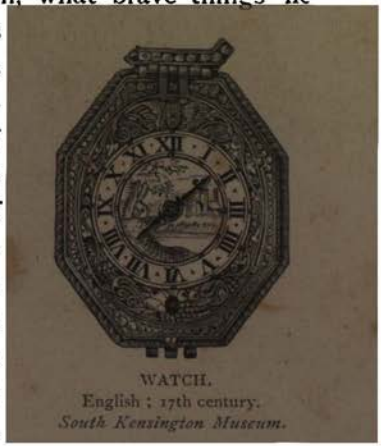
THE CAPTURED "ROYAL CHARLES" BEING CARRIED AWAY TO HOLLAND.
Picture by Storch, in the Museum at Amsterdam.

Section III.—Charles the Second, 1667—1673

[*Authorities.*—To the authorities already mentioned, we may add the Memoirs of Sir William Temple, with Lord Macaulay's well-known Essay on that statesman, Reresby's Memoirs, and the works of Andrew Marvell. The "Memoirs of the Count de Grammont," by Anthony Hamilton, give a witty and amusing picture of the life of the court. Lingard becomes important from the original materials he has used, and from his clear and dispassionate statement of the Catholic side of the question. Ranke's "History of the XVII. Century" throws great light on the diplomatic history of the later Stuart reigns; on internal and constitutional points he is dispassionate but of less value. Dalrymple, in his "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," was the first to discover the real secret of the negotiations with France; but all previous researches have been superseded by those of M. Mignet, whose "Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne" is indispensable for a knowledge of the time.]

Charles the Second

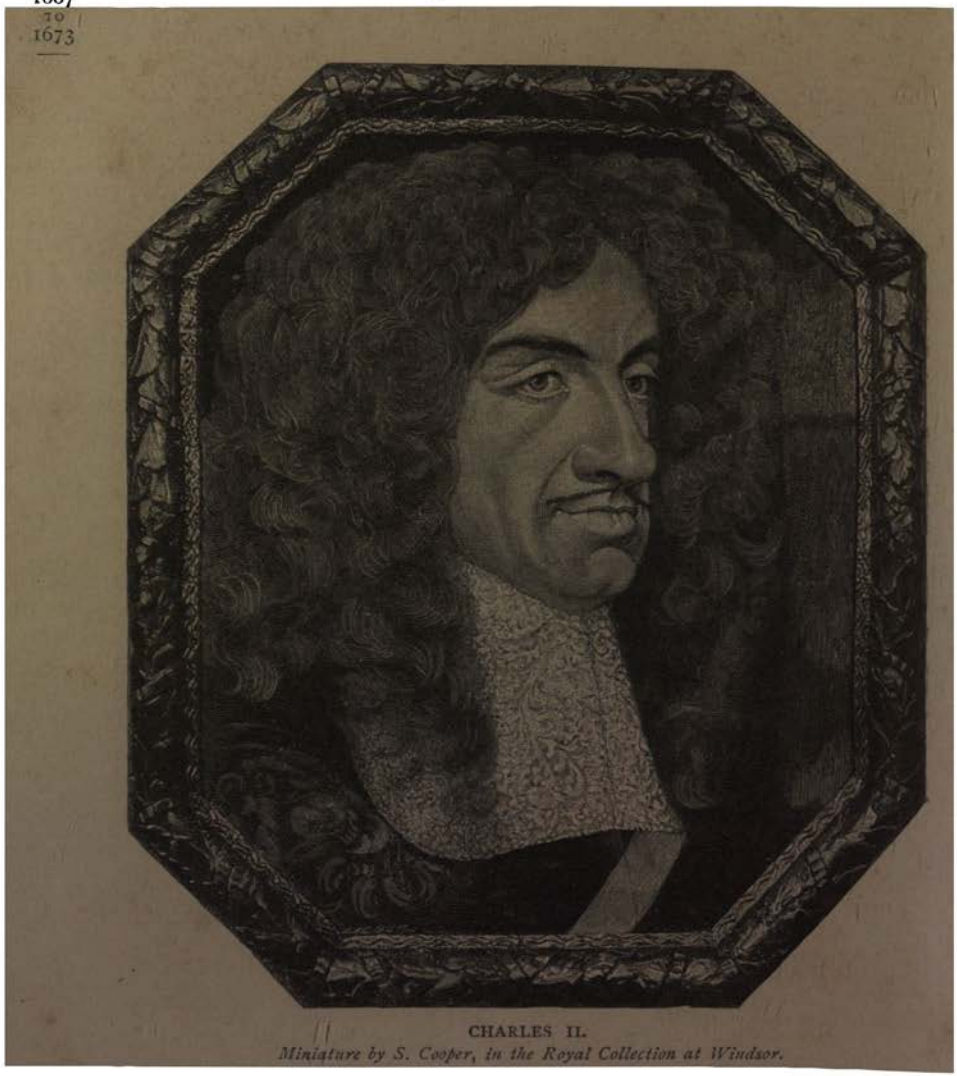
The thunder of the Dutch guns in the Medway and the Thames woke England to a bitter sense of its degradation. The dream of loyalty was over. "Everybody now-a-days," Pepys tells us, "reflect upon Oliver and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him." But Oliver's successor was coolly watching this shame and discontent of his people with the one aim of turning it to his own advantage. To Charles the Second the degradation of England was only a move in the political game which he was playing, a game played with so consummate a secrecy and skill that it deceived not only the closest observers of his own day but still misleads historians of ours. What his subjects saw in their King was a pleasant, brown-faced gentleman playing with his spaniels, or drawing caricatures of his ministers, or flinging cakes to the water-fowl in the park.



WATCH.
English; 17th century.
South Kensington Museum.

SEC. III
CHARLES THE SECOND
1667 TO 1673

To all outer seeming Charles was the most consummate of idlers. "He delighted," says one of his courtiers, "in a bewitching kind of pleasure called sauntering." The business-like Pepys soon dis-



CHARLES II.
Miniature by S. Cooper, in the Royal Collection at Windsor.

covered that "the King do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business." He only laughed when Tom Killigrew frankly told him that badly as things were going there was one man whose industry could soon set them right, "and

this is one Charles Stuart, who now spends his time in using his lips about the Court, and hath no other employment." That Charles had great natural parts no one doubted. In his earlier days of defeat and danger he showed a cool courage and presence of mind which never failed him in the many perilous moments of his reign. His temper was pleasant and social, his manners perfect, and there was a careless freedom and courtesy in his address which won over everybody who came into his presence. His education indeed had been so grossly neglected that he could hardly read a plain Latin book; but his natural quickness and intelligence showed itself in his pursuit of chymistry and anatomy, and in the interest he showed in the scientific inquiries of the Royal Society. Like Peter the Great his favourite study was that of naval architecture, and he piqued himself on being a clever ship-builder. He had some little love too for art and poetry, and a taste for music. But his shrewdness and vivacity showed itself most in his endless talk. He was fond of telling stories, and he told them with a good deal of grace and humour. His humour indeed never forsook him: even on his death-bed he turned to the weeping courtiers around and whispered an apology for having been so unconscionable a time in dying. He held his own fairly with the wits of his Court, and bandied repartees on equal terms with Sedley or Buckingham. Even Rochester in his merciless epigram was forced to own that Charles "never said a foolish thing." He had inherited in fact his grandfather's gift of pithy sayings, and his habitual irony often gave an amusing turn to them. When his brother, the most unpopular man in England, solemnly warned him of plots against his life, Charles laughingly bade him set all fear aside. "They will never kill me, James," he said, "to make you king." But courage and wit and ability seemed to have been bestowed on him in vain. Charles hated business. He gave to outer observers no sign of ambition. The one thing he seemed in earnest about was sensual pleasure, and he took his pleasure with a cynical shamelessness which roused the disgust even of his shameless courtiers. Mistress followed mistress, and the guilt of a troop of profligate women was blazoned to the world by the gift of titles and estates. The royal bastards were set amongst English nobles. The ducal house of Grafton springs from the

King's adultery with Barbara Palmer, whom he created Duchess of Cleveland. The Dukes of St. Albans owe their origin to his

NELL GWYNN.
Picture by Sir Peter Lely at Althorpe.

intrigue with Nell Gwynn, a player and a courtezan. Louise de Quérouaille, a mistress sent by France to win him to its interests, became Duchess of Portsmouth and ancestress of the house of

Richmond. An earlier mistress, Lucy Walters, was mother of a boy whom he raised to the Dukedom of Monmouth, and to whom the Dukes of Buccleuch trace their line; but there is good reason for doubting whether the King was actually his father. But

JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH.
Miniature by Samuel Cooper, in the Royal Collection at Windsor.

Charles was far from being content with these recognized mistresses, or with a single form of self-indulgence. Gambling and drinking helped to fill up the vacant moments when he could no longer toy with his favourites or bet at Newmarket. No thought of remorse

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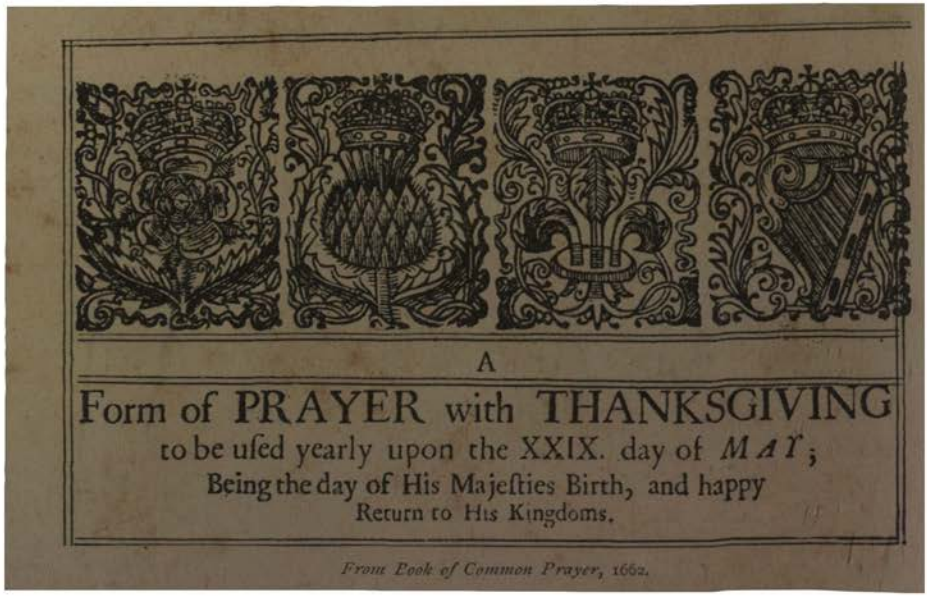
or of shame seems ever to have crossed his mind. "He could not think God would make a man miserable," he said once, "only for taking a little pleasure out of the way." From shame indeed he was shielded by his cynical disbelief in human virtue. Virtue he regarded simply as a trick by which clever hypocrites imposed upon fools. Honour among men seemed to him as mere a pretence as chastity among women. Gratitude he had none, for he looked upon self-interest as the only motive of men's actions, and though soldiers had died and women had risked their lives for him, he "loved others as little as he thought they loved him." But


A
Form of PRAYER with THANKSGIVING
to be uſed yearly upon the XXIX. day of *MAY*;
Being the day of His Majeſties Birth, and happy
Return to His Kingdoms.

From Book of Common Prayer, 1662.

if he felt no gratitude for benefits he felt no resentment for wrongs. He was incapable either of love or of hate. The only feeling he retained for his fellow-men was that of an amused contempt.

The King's Policy

It was difficult for Englishmen to believe that any real danger to liberty could come from an idler and a voluptuary such as Charles the Second. But in the very difficulty of believing this lay half the King's strength. He had in fact no taste whatever for the despotism of the Stuarts who had gone before him. His shrewdness laughed his grandfather's theory of Divine Right down the wind, while his indolence made such a personal administration as that which his father delighted in burthensome to him. He was

too humorous a man to care for the pomp and show of power, and too good-natured a man to play the tyrant. But he believed as firmly as his father or his grandfather had believed in the older prerogatives of the Crown ; and, like them, he looked on Parliaments with suspicion and jealousy. "He told Lord Essex," Burnet says, "that he did not wish to be like a Grand Signior, with some mutes about him, and bags of bowstrings to strangle men ; but he did not think he was a king so long as a company of fellows were looking into his actions, and examining his ministers as well as his accounts." "A king," he thought, "who might be checked, and have his ministers called to an account, was but a king in name." In other words, he had no settled plan of tyranny, but he meant to rule as independently as he could, and from the beginning to the end of his reign there never was a moment when he was not doing something to carry out his aim. But he carried it out in a tentative, irregular fashion which it was as hard to detect as to meet. Whenever there was any strong opposition he gave way. If popular feeling demanded the dismissal of his ministers, he dismissed them. If it protested against his declaration of indulgence, he recalled it. If it cried for victims in the frenzy of the Popish Plot, he gave it victims till the frenzy was at an end. It was easy for Charles to yield and to wait, and just as easy for him to take up the thread of his purpose again the moment the pressure was over. The one fixed resolve which overrode every other thought in the King's mind was a resolve "not to set out on his travels again." His father had fallen through a quarrel with the two Houses, and Charles was determined to remain on good terms with the Parliament till he was strong enough to pick a quarrel to his profit. He treated the Lords with an easy familiarity which robbed opposition of its seriousness. "Their debates amused him," he said in his indolent way ; and he stood chatting before the fire while peer after peer poured invectives on his ministers, and laughed louder than the rest when Shaftesbury directed his coarsest taunts at the barrenness of the Queen. Courtiers were entrusted with the secret "management" of the Commons : obstinate country gentlemen were brought to the royal closet to kiss the King's hand and listen to the King's pleasant stories of his escape after Worcester; and still more obstinate country gentlemen were

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bribed. Where bribes, flattery, and management failed, Charles was content to yield and to wait till his time came again. Meanwhile he went on patiently gathering up what fragments of

JOHN MAITLAND, EARL AND DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.
Picture by Vandyck, at Ham House.

Dissolution of the Union 1660

the old royal power still survived, and availing himself of whatever new resources offered themselves. If he could not undo what Puritanism had done in England, he could undo its work in Scotland and in Ireland. Before the Civil War these

kingdoms had served as useful checks on English liberty, and by simply regarding the Union which the Long Parliament and the Protector had brought about as a nullity in law it was possible they might become checks again. In his refusal to recognize the Union Charles was supported by public opinion among his English subjects, partly from sheer abhorrence of changes wrought during "the troubles," and partly from a dread that the Scotch and Irish members would form a party in the English Parliament which would always be at the service of the Crown. In both the lesser kingdoms too a measure which seemed to restore somewhat of their independence was for the moment popular. But the results of this step were quick in developing themselves. In Scotland the Covenant was at once abolished. The new Scotch Parliament at Edinburgh, the Drunken Parliament, as it was called, outdid the wildest loyalty of the English Cavaliers by annulling in a single Act all the proceedings of its predecessors during the last eight-and-twenty years. By this measure the whole existing Church system of Scotland was deprived of legal sanction. The General Assembly had already been prohibited from meeting by Cromwell; the kirk-sessions and ministers' synods were now suspended. The Scotch bishops were again restored to their spiritual pre-eminence, and to their seats in Parliament. An iniquitous trial sent the Marquis of Argyle, the only noble strong enough to oppose the royal will, to the block, and the government was entrusted to a knot of profligate statesmen till it fell into the hands of Lauderdale, one of the ablest and most unscrupulous of the King's ministers. Their policy was steadily directed to the two purposes of humbling Presbyterianism—as the force which could alone restore Scotland to freedom, and enable her to lend aid as before to English liberty in any struggle with the Crown—and that of raising a royal army which might be ready in case of need to march over the border to the King's support. In Ireland the dissolution of the Union brought back the bishops to their sees; but whatever wish Charles may have had to restore the balance of Catholic and Protestant as a source of power to the Crown was baffled by the obstinate resistance of the Protestant settlers to any plans for redressing the confiscations of Cromwell. Five years of bitter struggle between the dispossessed loyalists and the new occupants left the Protestant

ascendency unimpaired; and in spite of a nominal surrender of one-third of the confiscated estates to their old possessors, hardly a sixth of the profitable land in the island remained in Catholic

JAMES BUTLER, FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND.
From an engraving by Scriven, after Sir Godfrey Kneller.

holding. The claims of the Duke of Ormond too made it necessary to leave the government in his hands, and Ormond's loyalty was too moderate and constitutional to lend itself to any of the schemes of absolute rule which under Tyrconnell played so

The Royal Army

great a part in the next reign. But the severance of the two kingdoms from England was in itself a gain to the royal authority; and Charles turned quietly to the building up of a royal army at home. A standing army had become so hateful a thing to the body of the nation, and above all to the royalists whom the New Model had trodden under foot, that it was impossible to propose its establishment. But in the mind of Charles and his brother James, their father's downfall had been owing to the want of a disciplined force which would have trampled out the first efforts of national resistance; and while disbanding the New Model, Charles availed himself of the alarm created by a mad rising of some Fifth-Monarchy men in London under an old soldier called Venner to retain five thousand horse and foot in his service under the name of his guards. A body of "gentlemen of quality and veteran soldiers, excellently clad, mounted, and ordered," was thus kept ready for service near the royal person; and in spite of the scandal which it aroused the King persisted, steadily but cautiously, in gradually increasing its numbers. Twenty years later it had grown to a force of seven thousand foot and one thousand seven hundred horse and dragoons at home, with a reserve of six fine regiments abroad in the service of the United Provinces.

Charles and France

But Charles was too quick-witted a man to believe, as his brother James believed, that it was possible to break down English freedom by the royal power or by a few thousand men in arms. It was still less possible by such means to break down, as he wished to break down, English Protestantism. In heart, whether the story of his renunciation of Protestantism during his exile be true or no, he had long ceased to be a Protestant. Whatever religious feeling he had was on the side of Catholicism; he encouraged conversions among his courtiers, and the last act of his life was to seek formal admission into the Roman Church. But his feelings were rather political than religious. The English Roman Catholics formed a far larger part of the population then than now; their wealth and local influence gave them a political importance which they have long since lost, and every motive of gratitude as well as self-interest led him to redeem his pledge to procure toleration for their worship. But he was already looking,

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN'S ORIGINAL MODEL FOR S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

Charles and Catholicism

however vaguely, to something more than Catholic toleration. He saw that despotism in the State could hardly co-exist with free inquiry and free action in matters of the conscience, and that government, in his own words, "was a safer and easier thing where the authority was believed infallible and the faith and submission of the people were implicit." The difficulties in the way of such a religious change probably seemed the less to him from his long residence in Roman Catholic countries, and from his own religious scepticism. Two years indeed after his restoration he had already despatched an agent to Rome to arrange the terms of a reconciliation between the Anglican Church and the Papacy. But though he counted much for the success of his project of toleration on taking advantage of the dissensions between Protestant Churchmen and Protestant Dissenters he soon discovered that for any real success in his political or religious aims he must seek resources elsewhere than at home. At this moment France was the dominant power in Europe. Its young King, Lewis the Fourteenth, was the champion of Catholicism and despotism against civil and religious liberty throughout the world. France was the wealthiest of European powers, and her subsidies could free Charles from dependence on his Parliament. Her army was the finest in the world, and French soldiers could put down, it was thought, any resistance from English patriots. The aid of Lewis could alone realize the aims of Charles, and Charles was willing to pay the price which Lewis demanded for his aid, the price of concurrence in his designs on Spain. Spain at this moment had not only ceased to threaten Europe but herself trembled at the threats of France; and the aim of Lewis was to complete her ruin, to win the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands, and ultimately to secure the succession to the Spanish throne for a French prince. But the presence of the French in Flanders was equally distasteful to England and to Holland, and in such a contest Spain might hope for the aid of these states and of the Empire. For some years Lewis contented himself with perfecting his army and preparing by skilful negotiations to make such a league of the great powers against him impossible. His first success in England was in the marriage of the King. Portugal, which had only just shaken

Marriage of Charles

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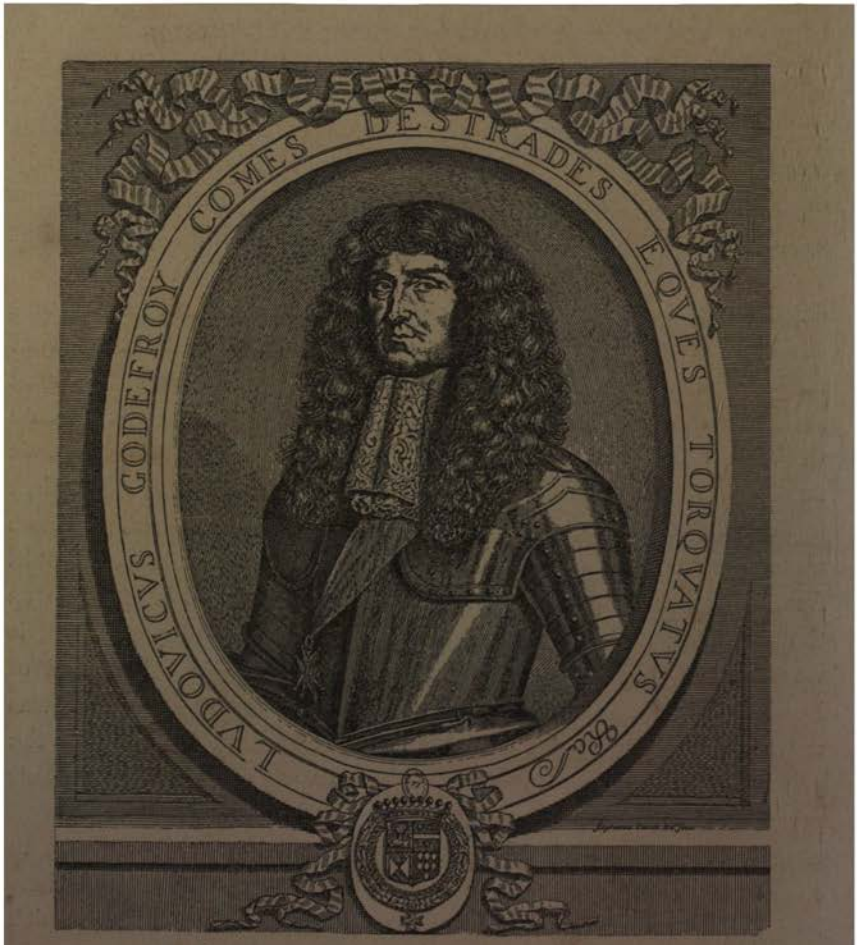
off the rule of Spain, was really dependent upon France; and in accepting the hand of Catharine of Braganza in spite of the protests of Spain, Charles announced his adhesion to the



THE COMTE D'ESTRADES, AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE IN ENGLAND, 1661.
Jusserand, "A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II.", from an engraving by Etienne Picart.

alliance of Lewis. Already English opinion saw the danger of such a course, and veered round to the Spanish side. As early as 1661 the London mob backed the Spanish ambassador in a street squabble for precedence with the ambassador of

DUNKIRK.

Dutch engraving, Seventeenth or Early Eighteenth Century.

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France. "We do all naturally love the Spanish," says Pepys, "and hate the French." The marriage of Catharine, the sale of Dunkirk, the one result of Cromwell's victories, to France, aroused the national jealousy and suspicion of French influence; and the war with Holland seemed at one time likely to end in a war with Lewis. The Dutch war was in itself a serious stumbling-block in the way of French projects. To aid either side was to throw the other on the aid of the House of Austria, and to build up a league which would check France in its aim. Only peace could keep the European states disunited, and enable Lewis by their disunion to carry out his design of seizing Flanders.

1665

His attempt at mediation was fruitless; the defeat of Lowestoft forced him to give aid to Holland, and the news of his purpose at once roused England to a hope of war. When Charles announced it to the Houses, "there was a great noise," says Louvois, "in the Parliament to show the joy of the two Houses at the prospect of a fight with us." Lewis, however, cautiously limited his efforts to narrowing the contest to a struggle at sea, while England, vexed with disasters at home and abroad, could scarcely maintain the war. The appearance of the Dutch fleet in the Thames was followed by the sudden conclusion of peace which again left the ground clear for the diplomatic intrigues of Lewis.

Peace of Breda 1667

The Fall of Clarendon

In England the irritation was great and universal, but the public resentment fell on Clarendon alone. Charles had been bitterly angered when in 1663 his bill to vest a dispensing power in the Crown had been met by Clarendon's open opposition. The Presbyterian party, represented by Ashley, and the Catholics, led by the Earl of Bristol, alike sought his overthrow; in the Court he was opposed by Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, a creature of the King's. But Clarendon was still strong in his intimate connexion with the King's affairs, in the marriage of his daughter, Anne Hyde, to the Duke of York, in his capacity for business, above all in the support of the Church, and the confidence of the royalist and orthodox House of Commons. Foiled in their efforts to displace him, his rivals had availed themselves of the jealousy of the merchant-class to drive him against his will into the war with Holland; and though the Chancellor succeeded in

forcing the Five Mile Act through the Houses in the teeth of Ashley's protests, the calculations of his enemies were soon verified. The union between Clarendon and the Parliament was broken by the war. The Parliament was enraged by his counsel for its dissolution, and by his proposal to raise troops without a Parliamentary grant, and his opposition to the inspection of accounts, in which they saw an attempt to re-establish the one thing they hated most, a standing army. Charles could at last free himself from the minister who had held him in check so long; the Chancellor was dismissed from office, and driven to take refuge in France. By the exile of Clarendon, the death of Southampton, and the retirement of Ormond and Nicholas, the party of constitutional loyalists in the Council ceased to exist; and the section which had originally represented the Presbyterians, and which under the guidance of Ashley had bent to purchase toleration even at the cost of increasing the prerogatives of the Crown, came to the front of affairs. The religious policy of Charles had as yet been defeated by the sturdy Churchmanship of the Parliament, the influence of Clarendon, and the reluctance of the Presbyterians as a body to accept the Royal "indulgence" at the price of a toleration of Catholicism and a recognition of the King's power to dispense with Parliamentary statutes. The first steps of the new ministry in releasing Nonconformists from prison, in suffering conventicles to reopen, and suspending the operation of the Act of Uniformity, were in open defiance of the known will of the two Houses. But when Charles again proposed to his counsellors a general toleration he no longer found himself supported by them as in 1663. Even Ashley's mood was changed. Instead of toleration they pressed for a union of Protestants which would have utterly foiled the King's projects; and a scheme of Protestant comprehension which had been approved by the moderate divines on both sides, by Tillotson and Stillingfleet on the part of the Church as well as by Manton and Baxter on the part of the Nonconformists, was laid before the House of Commons. Even its rejection failed to bring Ashley and his party back to their old position. They were still for toleration, but only for a toleration the benefit of which did not extend to Catholics, "in respect the laws have determined the principles

The Cabal

1668

SIGNING THE TREATY OF BREDA, 1667.
Dutch print in British Museum.

of the Romish religion to be inconsistent with the safety of your Majesty's person and government." The policy of the Council in fact was determined by the look of public affairs abroad. Lewis had quickly shown the real cause of the eagerness with which he had pressed on the Peace of Breda between England and the Dutch. He had secured the neutrality of the Emperor by a secret treaty which shared the Spanish dominions between the two monarchs in case the King of Spain died without an heir. England, as he believed, was held in check by Charles, and like Holland was too exhausted by the late war to meddle with a new one. On the very day therefore on which the treaty was signed he sent in his formal claims on the Low Countries, and his army at once took the field. The greater part of Flanders was occupied and six great fortresses secured in two months. Franche Comté was overrun in seventeen days. Holland protested and appealed to England for aid ; but her appeals remained at first unanswered. England sought in fact to tempt Holland, Spain, and France in turn by secret offers of alliance. From France she demanded, as the price of her aid against Holland and perhaps Spain, a share in the eventual partition of the Spanish dominions, and an assignment to her in such a case of the Spanish Empire in the New World. But all her offers were alike refused. The need of action became clearer every hour to the English ministers, and wider views gradually set aside the narrow dreams of merely national aggrandizement. The victories of Lewis, the sudden revelation of the strength of France, roused even in the most tolerant minds a dread of Catholicism. Men felt instinctively that the very existence of Protestantism and with it of civil freedom was again to be at stake. Arlington himself had a Dutch wife and had resided in Spain ; and Catholic as in heart he was, thought more of the political interests of England, and of the invariable resolve of its statesmen since Elizabeth's day to keep the French out of Flanders, than of the interests of Catholicism. Lewis, warned of his danger, strove to lull the general excitement by offers of peace to Spain, while he was writing to Turenne, " I am turning over in my head things that are far from impossible, and go to carry them into execution whatever they may cost." Three armies were, in fact, ready to march on Spain,

The policy of France

1667

The Triple Alliance
1668

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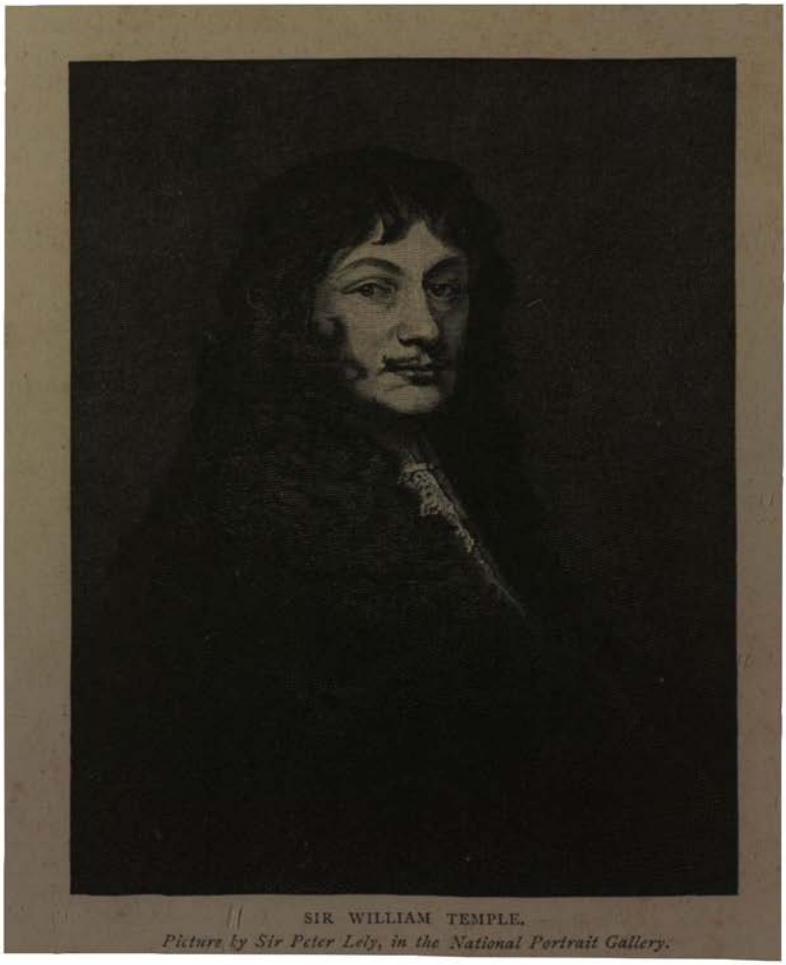
Germany, and Flanders, when Arlington despatched Sir William Temple to the Hague, and the signature of a Triple Alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden bound Lewis to the terms he had offered as a blind, and forced on him the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

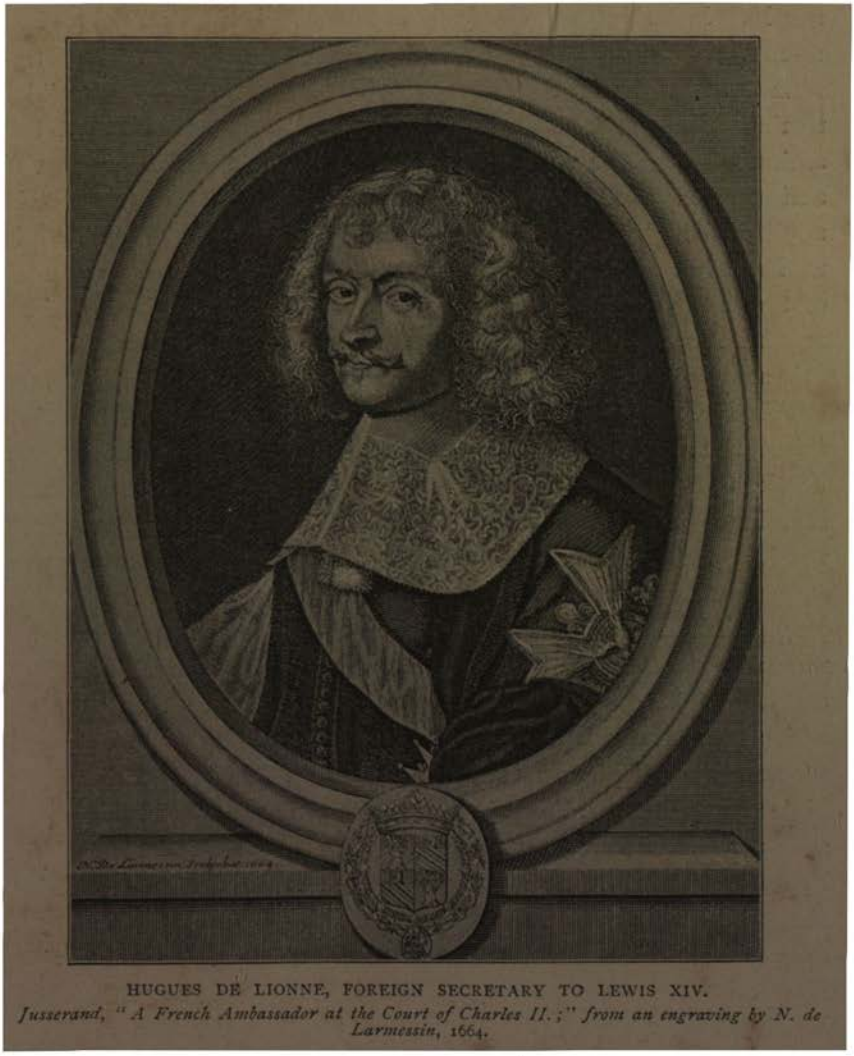


SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.
Picture by Sir Peter Lely, in the National Portrait Gallery.

The Treaty of Dover

Few measures have won a greater popularity than the Triple Alliance. "It is the only good public thing," says Pepys, "that hath been done since the King came to England." Even Dryden, writing at the time as a Tory, counted among the worst of

Shaftesbury's crimes that "the Triple Bond he broke." In form indeed the Alliance simply bound Lewis to adhere to terms of peace proposed by himself, and those advantageous terms. But in fact it utterly ruined his plans. It brought about too that



HUGUES DE LIONNE, FOREIGN SECRETARY TO LEWIS XIV.
Jusserand, "A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II.;" from an engraving by N. de Larmessin, 1664.

union of the powers of Europe against which, as Lewis felt instinctively, his ambition would dash itself in vain. It was Arlington's aim to make the Alliance the nucleus of a greater confederation; and he tried not only to perpetuate it, but to

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Charles the Second 1667 to 1673

include within it the Swiss Cantons, the Empire, and the House of Austria. His efforts were foiled; but the "Triple Bond" bore within it the germs of the Grand Alliance which at last saved Europe. To England it at once brought back the reputation which she had lost since the death of Cromwell. It was a sign of her re-entry on the general stage of European politics, and of the formal adoption of the balance of power as a policy essential to the welfare of Europe at large. But it was not so much the action of England which had galled the pride of Lewis, as the action of Holland. That "a nation of shopkeepers" (for Lewis applied the phrase to Holland long before Napoleon applied it to England) should have foiled his plans at the very moment of their realization, "stung him," he owned, "to the quick." If he refrained from an instant attack it was to nurse a surer revenge. His steady aim during the four years which followed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was to isolate the United Provinces, to bring about the neutrality of the Empire in any attack on them, to break the Triple Alliance by detaching Sweden from it and securing Charles, and to leave the Dutch without help, save from the idle goodwill of Brandenburg and Spain. His diplomacy was everywhere successful, but it was nowhere so successful as with England. Charles had been stirred to a momentary pride by the success of the Triple Alliance, but he had never seriously abandoned his policy, and he was resolute at last to play an active part in realizing it. It was clear that little was to be hoped for from his old plans of winning toleration for the Catholics from his new ministers, and that in fact they were resolute to bring about such a union of Protestants as would have been fatal to his designs.

Charles turns to France

From this moment he resolved to seek for his advantage from France. The Triple Alliance was hardly concluded when he declared to Lewis his purpose of entering into an alliance with him, offensive and defensive. He owned to be the only man in his kingdom who desired such a league, but he was determined to realize his desire, whatever might be the sentiments of his ministers. His ministers, indeed, he meant either to bring over to his schemes or to outwit. Two of them, Arlington and Sir Thomas Clifford, were Catholics in heart like the King; and they were summoned, with the Duke of York, who had already

secretly embraced Catholicism, and two Catholic nobles, to a conference in which Charles, after pledging them to secrecy, declared himself a Catholic, and asked their counsel as to the means of establishing the Catholic religion in his realm. It was resolved to apply to Lewis for aid in this purpose; and Charles proceeded to seek from the King a "protection," to use the words of the French ambassador, "of which he always hoped to feel the powerful effects in the execution of his design of changing the present state of religion in England for a better, and of establishing his authority so as to be able to retain his

TWO "DRUMMS AND A FIFE AND THE DRUMME-MAJOR."
F. Sandford, "Funeral of the Duke of Albemarle," 1670.

subjects in the obedience they owe him." The fall of Holland was as needful for the success of the plans of Charles as of Lewis; and with the ink of the Triple Alliance hardly dry, Charles promised help in Lewis's schemes for the ruin of Holland and the annexation of Flanders. He offered therefore to declare his religion and to join France in an attack on Holland, if Lewis would grant him a subsidy equal to a million a year. In the event of the King of Spain's death without a son Charles pledged himself to support France in her claims upon Flanders, while Lewis promised to assent to the designs of England on the

FUNERAL CAR OF GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.
Sandford, "Funeral of the Duke of Albemarle," 1670.

Spanish dominions in America. On this basis, after a year's negotiations, a secret treaty was concluded at Dover in an interview between Charles and his sister Henrietta, the Duchess of Orleans. It provided that Charles should announce his conversion and that in case of any disturbance arising from such a step he should be supported by a French army and a French subsidy. War was to be declared by both powers against Holland, England furnishing a small land force, but bearing the chief burthen of the

May 1670

TWO OF THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE'S WATERMEN. TWO MASTERS OF THE CHANCERY.

F. Sandford, "Funeral of the Duke of Albemarle," 1670.

contest at sea, on condition of an annual subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds.

The Declaration of Indulgence

Nothing marks better the political profligacy of the age than that Arlington, the author of the Triple Alliance, should have been chosen as the confidant of Charles in his treaty of Dover. But to all save Arlington and Clifford the King's change of religion or his political aims remained utterly unknown. It would have been impossible to obtain the consent of the party in the royal council which represented the old Presbyterians, of Ashley or Lauderdale or the Duke of Buckingham, to the Treaty of Dover. But it was possible to trick them into approval of a war with Holland by play-

The Cabal and the war

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AT LEYDEN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

After J. C. Woudanus, 1610.

ing on their desire for a toleration of the Nonconformists. The announcement of the King's Catholicism was therefore deferred; and a series of mock negotiations, carried on through Buckingham, ended in the conclusion of a sham treaty which was communicated to Lauderdale and to Ashley, a treaty which suppressed all mention of the religious changes or of the promise of French aid in bringing them about, and simply stipulated for a joint war against the Dutch. In such a war there was no formal breach of the Triple Alliance, for the Triple Alliance only guarded against an attack on the dominions of Spain, and Ashley and his colleagues were lured into assent to it in 1671 by the promise of a toleration on their own terms. Charles in fact yielded the point to which he had hitherto clung, and, as Ashley demanded, promised that no Catholic should be benefited by the Indulgence. The bargain once struck, and his ministers outwitted, it only remained for Charles to outwit his Parliament. A large subsidy had been demanded in 1670 for the fleet, under the pretext of upholding the Triple Alliance; and the subsidy was granted. In the spring 1671
the two Houses were adjourned. So great was the national opposition to his schemes that Charles was driven to plunge hastily into hostilities. An attack on a Dutch convoy was at once followed by a declaration of war, and fresh supplies were obtained for the coming struggle by closing the Exchequer, and suspending under Clifford's advice the payment of either principal or interest on loans advanced to the public Treasury. The suspension spread bankruptcy among half the goldsmiths of London; but with the opening of the war Ashley and his colleagues gained the toleration they had bought so dear. By virtue of his ecclesiastical powers the King ordered "that all 1672
manner of penal laws on matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Nonconformists or recusants should be from that day suspended," and gave liberty of public worship to all dissidents save Catholics, who were allowed to say mass only in private houses. The effect of the Declaration went far to justify Ashley and his colleagues (if anything could justify their course) in the bargain by which they purchased toleration. Ministers returned, after years of banishment, to their homes and their flocks. Chapels were reopened. The gaols were emptied

SEA-FIGHT WITH THE DUTCH IN SOLEBAY, JUNE 7, 1672.

Dutch print, 1672 (*British Museum*).

Bunyan left his prison at Bedford; and hundreds of Quakers, who had been the special objects of persecution, were set free to worship God after their own fashion.

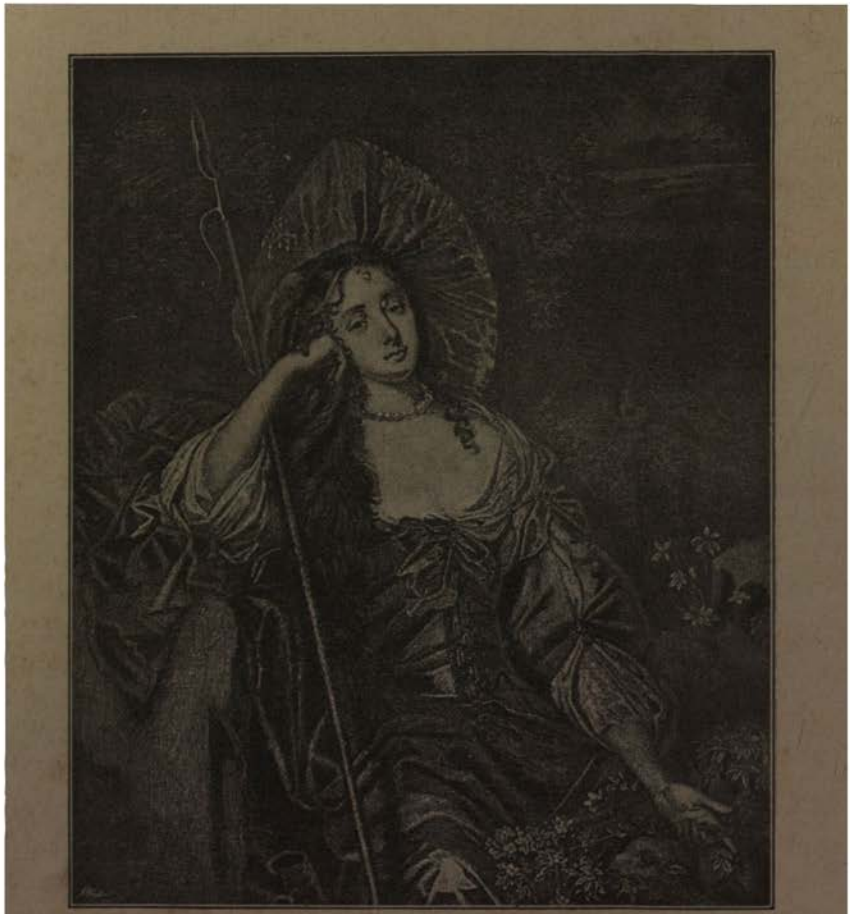
The Declaration of Indulgence however failed to win any expression of gratitude from the bulk of the Nonconformists. Dear as toleration was to them, the general interests of religion were dearer, and not only these but national freedom was now at stake. The success of the Allies seemed at first complete. The French army passed the Rhine, overran three of the States without opposition, and pushed its outposts to within sight of Amsterdam. It was only by skill and desperate courage that the Dutch ships under De Ruyter held the English fleet under the Duke of York at bay in an obstinate battle off the coast of Suffolk. The triumph of the English cabinet was shown in the elevation of the leaders of both its parties. Ashley was made Chancellor and Earl of Shaftesbury, and Clifford became Lord Treasurer. But the Dutch were saved by the stubborn courage which awoke before the arrogant demands of the conqueror. The plot of the two Courts hung for success on the chances of a rapid surprise; and with the approach of winter which suspended military operations, all chance of a surprise was over. The death of De Witt, the leader of the great merchant class, called William the Prince of Orange to the head of the Republic. Young as he was, he at once displayed the cool courage and tenacity of his race. "Do you not see your country is lost?" asked the Duke of Buckingham, who had been sent to negotiate at the Hague. "There is a sure way never to see it lost," replied William, "and that is to die in the last ditch." With the spring the tide began to turn. Holland was saved and province after province won back from France by William's dauntless resolve. In England the delay of winter had exhausted the supplies which had been so unscrupulously procured, while the closing of the Treasury had shaken credit and rendered it impossible to raise a loan. It was necessary in 1673 to appeal to the Commons, but the Commons met in a mood of angry distrust. The war, unpopular as it was, they left alone. What overpowered all other feelings was a vague sense, which we know now to have been justified by the facts, that liberty and

The War with Holland

1673

Rise of the Country Party

religion were being unscrupulously betrayed. There was a suspicion that the whole armed force of the nation was in Catholic hands. The Duke of York was suspected of being in heart a Papist, and he was in command of the fleet. Catholics had been placed as



BARBARA PALMER, COUNTESS OF CASTLEMAINE AND DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND.
From an engraving by W. Sherwin, 1670.

officers in the force which was being raised for the war in Holland. Lady Castlemaine, the King's mistress, paraded her conversion; and doubts were fast gathering over the Protestantism of the King. There was a general suspicion that a plot was on foot

for the establishment of Catholicism and despotism, and that the war and the Indulgence were parts of the plot. The change of temper in the Commons was marked by the appearance of what was from that time called the Country party, with Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, and Sir William Coventry at its head, a party which sympathized with the desire of the Nonconformists for religious toleration, but looked on it as its first duty to guard against the designs of the Court. As to the Declaration of Indulgence, however, all parties in the House were at one. The Commons resolved "that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by consent of Parliament," and refused supplies till the Declaration was recalled. The King yielded; but the Declaration was no sooner recalled than a Test Act was passed through both Houses without opposition, which required from every one in the civil and military employment of the State the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, a declaration against transubstantiation, and a reception of the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. It was known that the Protestant dissidents were prepared to waive all objection to oath or sacrament, while the Bill would wholly exclude Catholics from share in the government. Clifford at once counselled resistance, and Buckingham talked flightily about bringing the army to London. But the grant of a subsidy was still held in suspense; and Arlington, who saw that all hope of carrying the "great plan" through was at an end, pressed Charles to yield. A dissolution was the King's only resource, but in the temper of the nation a new Parliament would have been yet more violent than the present one; and Charles sullenly gave way. Few measures have ever brought about more startling results. The Duke of York owned himself a Catholic and resigned his office as Lord High Admiral. Throngs of excited people gathered round the Lord Treasurer's house at the news that Clifford, too, had owned to being a Catholic and had laid down his staff of office. Their resignation was followed by that of hundreds of others in the army and the civil service of the Crown. On public opinion the effect was wonderful. "I dare not write all the strange talk of the town," says Evelyn. The resignations were held to have proved the existence of the dangers which the

The Test Act

SEC. III
CHARLES THE SECOND
1667 TO 1673

Test Act had been framed to meet. From this moment all trust in Charles was at an end. "The King," Shaftesbury said bitterly, "who if he had been so happy as to have been born a private gentleman had certainly passed for a man of good parts, excellent breeding, and well natured, hath now, being a Prince, brought his affairs to that pass that there is not a person in the world, man or woman, that dares rely upon him or put any confidence in his word or friendship."

HUNTERS, c. 1680—1700
Ballad in Roxburghe Collection.

Section IV.—Danby, 1673—1678

[*Authorities.*—As before. Mr. Christie's "Life of Shaftesbury," a defence, and in some respects a successful defence, of that statesman's career, throws a fresh light on the policy of the Whig party during this period.]

Shaftesbury

The one man in England on whom the discovery of the King's perfidy fell with the most crushing effect was the Chancellor, Lord Shaftesbury. Ashley Cooper had piqued himself on a penetration which read the characters of men around him, and on a political instinct which discerned every coming change. His self-reliance was wonderful. In mere boyhood he saved his estate from the greed of his guardians by boldly appealing in person to Noy, who was then Attorney-General. As an undergraduate at Oxford he organized a rebellion of the freshmen against the oppressive customs which were enforced by the senior men of his college, and succeeded in abolishing them. At eighteen he was a member of the Short Parliament. On the outbreak of the Civil War he took part with the King; but in the midst of the royal successes he foresaw the ruin of the royal cause, passed to the Parliament, attached himself to the fortunes of Cromwell, and became member of the Council of State. Before all things a strict Parliamentarian, however, he was alienated by Cromwell's setting up of absolute rule without Parliament; and a temporary disgrace during the last years of the Protectorate only quickened him to an active opposition which did much to bring about its fall. His bitter invectives against the dead Protector, his intrigues with Monk, and the active part which he took, as member of the Council of State, in the King's recall, were rewarded at the Restoration with a peerage, and with promotion to a foremost share in the royal councils. Ashley was then a man of forty, and under the Commonwealth he had been, in the contemptuous phrase of Dryden when writing as a Tory, "the loudest bagpipe of the squeaking train;" but he was no sooner a minister of Charles than he flung himself into the debauchery of the Court with an ardour which surprised even his master. "You are the wickedest dog in England!" laughed Charles at some unscrupulous jest of his

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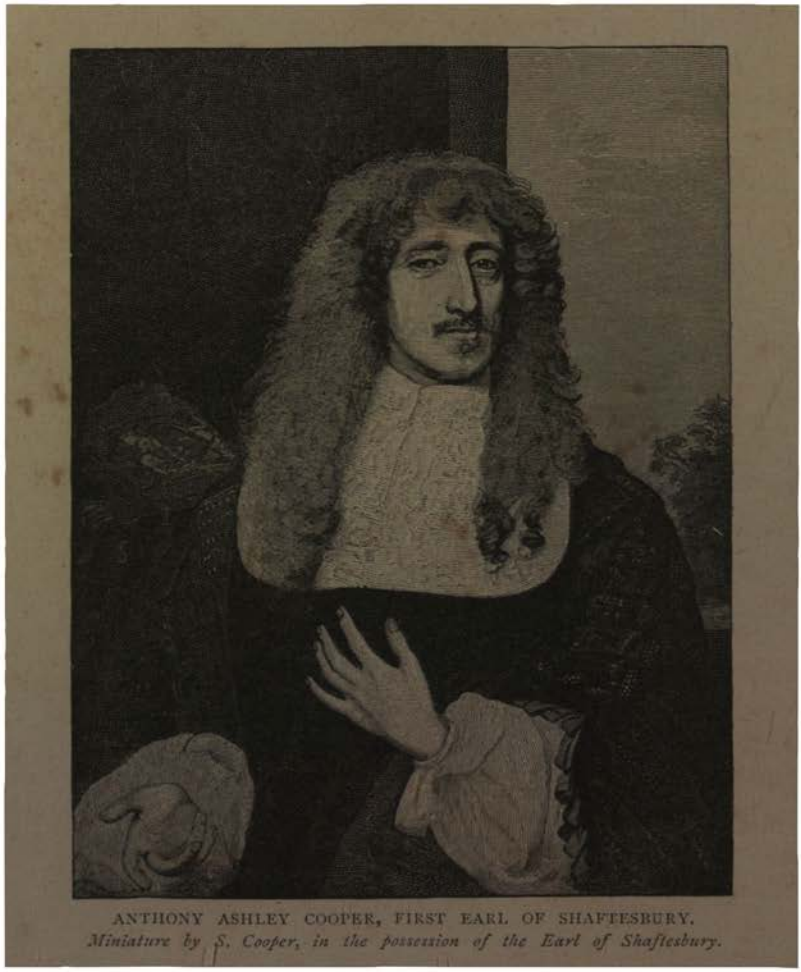
counsellor's. "Of a subject, Sir, I believe I am!" was the unabashed reply. But the debauchery of Ashley was simply a mask. He was in fact temperate by nature and habit, and his ill-health rendered any great excess impossible. Men soon found



ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.
Miniature by S. Cooper, in the possession of the Earl of Shaftesbury.

that the courtier who lounged in Lady Castlemaine's boudoir, or drank and jested with Sedley and Buckingham, was a diligent and able man of business. "He is a man," says the puzzled Pepys, three years after the Restoration, "of great business, and yet of pleasure and dissipation too." His rivals were as envious of the

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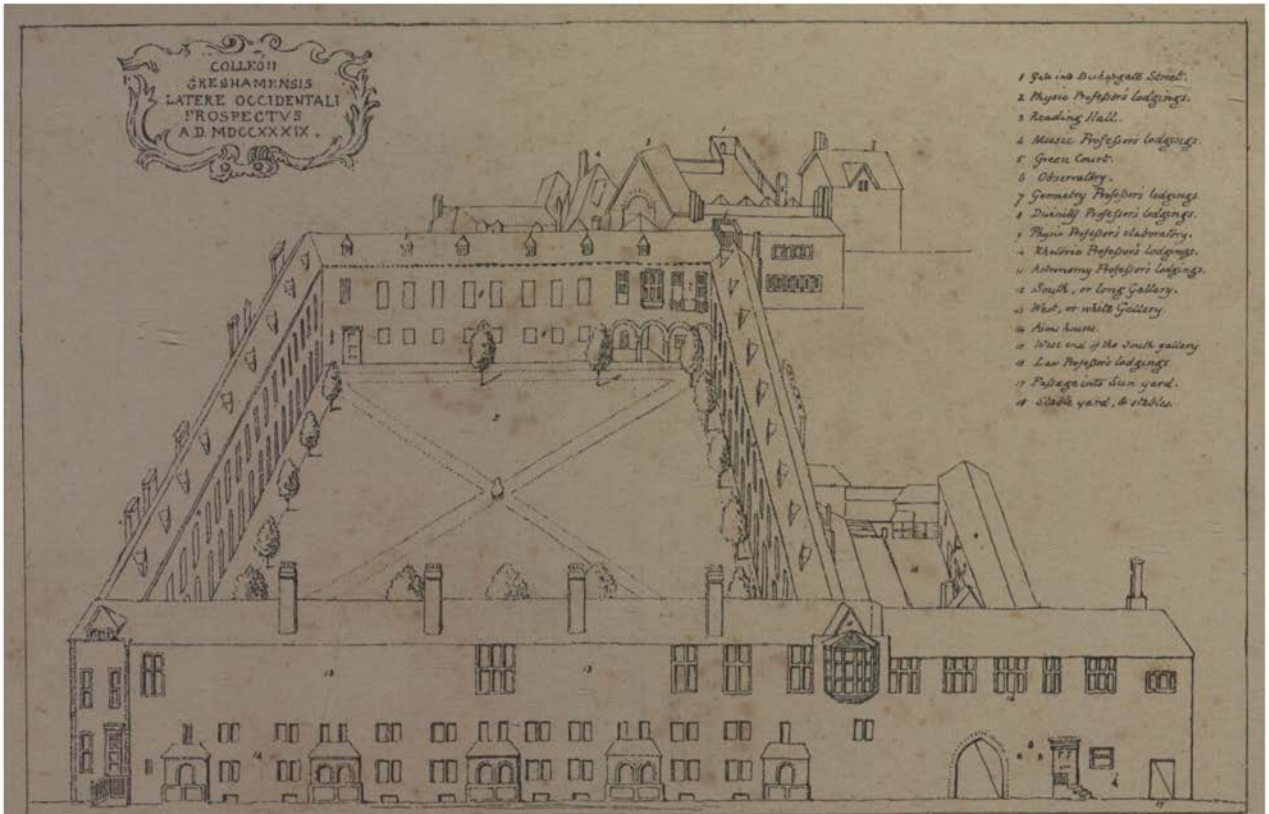
ease and mastery with which he dealt with questions of finance, as of the "nimble wit" which won the favour of the King. Even in later years his industry earned the grudging praise of his enemies. Dryden owned that as Chancellor he was "swift to despatch and easy of access," and wondered at the restless activity which "refused his age the needful hours of rest." His activity indeed was the more wonderful that his health was utterly broken. An accident in early days left behind it an abiding weakness, whose traces were seen in the furrows which seared his long pale face, in the feebleness of his health, and the nervous tremor which shook his puny frame. The "pigmy body" was "fretted to decay" by the "fiery soul" within it. But pain and weakness brought with them no sourness of spirit. Ashley was attacked more unscrupulously than any statesman save Walpole; but Burnet, who did not love him, owns that he was never bitter or angry in speaking of his assailants. Even the wit with which he crushed them was commonly good-humoured. "When will you have done preaching?" a bishop murmured testily, as Shaftesbury was speaking in the House of Peers. "When I am a bishop, my Lord!" was the laughing reply.

Shaftesbury's Policy

As a statesman Ashley not only stood high among his contemporaries from his wonderful readiness and industry, but he stood far above them in his scorn of personal profit. Even Dryden, while raking together every fault in his character, owns that his hands were clean. As a political leader his position was to modern eyes odd enough. In religion he was at best a Deist, with some fanciful notions "that after death our souls lived in stars." But Deist as he was, he remained the representative of the Presbyterian and Nonconformist party in the royal council. He was the steady and vehement advocate of toleration, but his advocacy was based on purely political grounds. He saw that persecution would fail to bring back the Dissenters to the Church, and that the effort to recall them only left the country disunited, and thus exposed English liberty to invasion from the Crown, and robbed England of all influence in Europe. The one means of uniting Churchmen and Dissidents was by a policy of toleration, but in the temper of England after the Restoration he saw no hope of obtaining toleration save from the King. Wit, debauchery,



GRESHAM-HOUSE, IN BISHOPGATE STREET, AFTERWARDS GRESHAM-COLLEGE; PULLED DOWN A.D. 1768

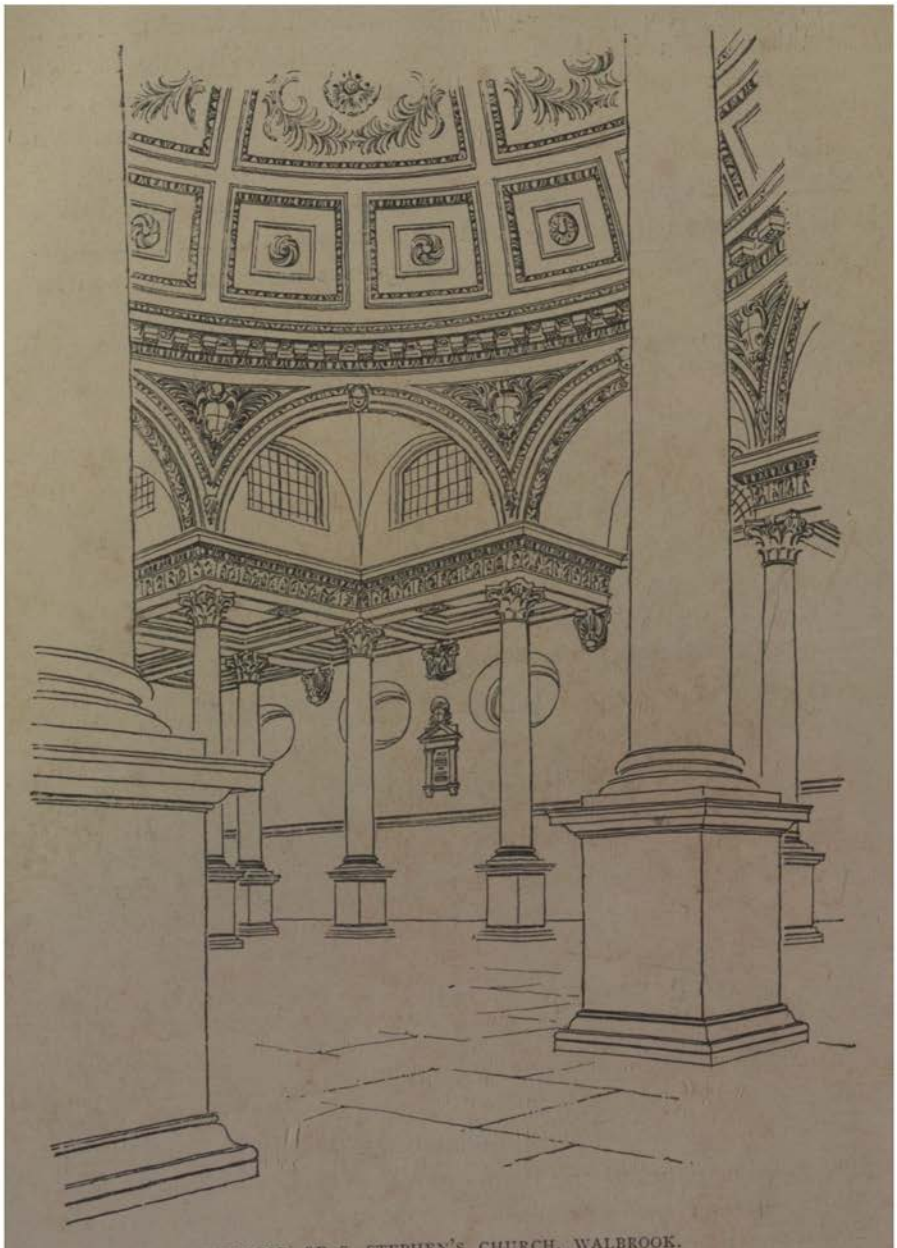
From Vertue's Plate, engraved in 1739

The Meetings of the Royal Society were held here till 1673.

rapidity in the despatch of business, were all therefore used as a means to gain influence over the King, and to secure him as a friend in the struggle which Ashley carried on against the intolerance of Clarendon. Charles, as we have seen, had his own game to play and his own reasons for protecting Ashley during his vehement but fruitless struggle against the Test and Corporation Act, the Act of Uniformity, and the persecution of the Dissidents. Fortune at last smiled on the unscrupulous ability with which he

THE NEW ROYAL EXCHANGE.
(Built 1667—1669.)
Where the lectures of Gresham College were given from 1768.

entangled Clarendon in the embarrassments of the Dutch war of 1664, and took advantage of the alienation of the Parliament to ensure his fall. By a yet more unscrupulous bargain Ashley had bought, as he believed, the Declaration of Indulgence, the release of the imprisoned Nonconformists, and freedom of worship for all dissidents, at the price of a consent to the second attack on Holland; and he was looked on by the public at large as the minister most responsible both for the measures he advised and the measures he had nothing to do with. But while facing the



INTERIOR OF S. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, WALBROOK.
Built by Sir Christopher Wren, 1672—1679.

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Shaftesbury's change of policy

gathering storm of unpopularity Ashley learnt in a moment of drunken confidence the secret of the King's religion. He owned to a friend "his trouble at the black cloud which was gathering over England;" but, troubled as he was, he still believed himself strong enough to use Charles for his own purposes. His acceptance of the Chancellorship and of the Earldom of Shaftesbury, as well as his violent defence of the war on opening the Parliament, identified him yet more with the royal policy. It was after the opening of the Parliament, if we credit the statement of the French Ambassador, that he learnt from Arlington the secret of the Treaty of Dover. Whether this were so, or whether suspicion, as in the people at large, deepened into certainty, Shaftesbury saw he had been duped. To the bitterness of such a discovery was added the bitterness of having aided in schemes which he abhorred. His change of policy was rapid and complete. He pressed in the royal council for the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence. In Parliament he supported the Test Act with extraordinary vehemence. The displacement of James and Clifford by the Test left him, as he thought, dominant in the royal council, and gave him hopes of revenging the deceit which had been practised on him by forcing his policy on the King. He was resolved to end the war. He had dreams of meeting the danger of a Catholic successor by a dissolution of the King's marriage and by a fresh match with a Protestant princess. For the moment indeed Charles was helpless. He found himself, as he had told Lewis long before, alone in his realm. The Test Act had been passed unanimously

FIGURE OF S. HELEN, IN S. HELEN'S CHURCH, BISHOPSGATE, c. 1680.

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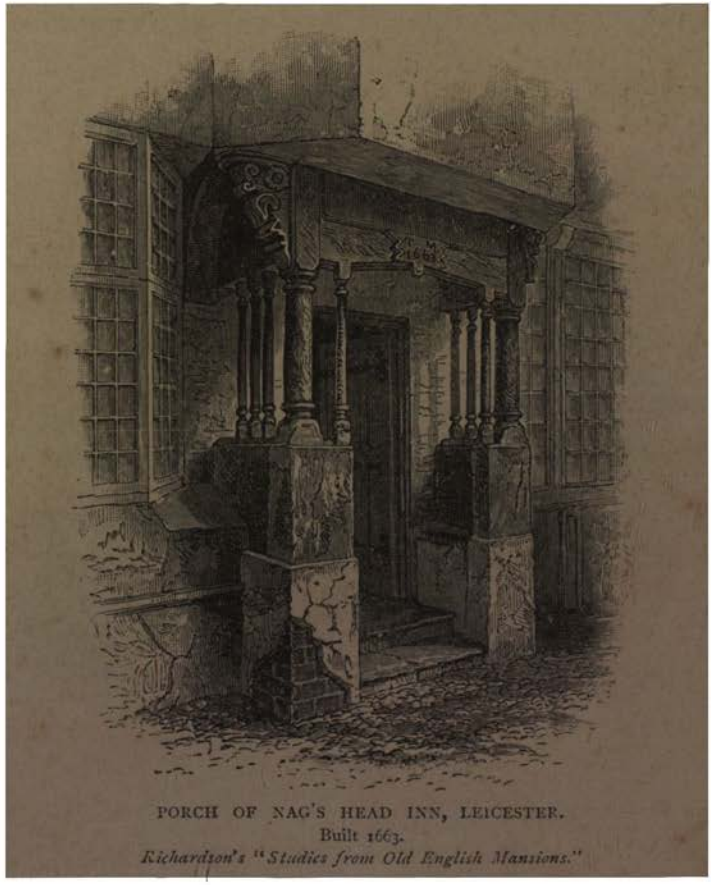
by both Houses. Even the Nonconformists deserted him, and preferred persecution to the support of his plans. The dismissal of the Catholic officers made the employment of force, if he ever contemplated it, impossible, while the ill success of the Dutch war robbed him of all hope of aid from France. The firmness of the



PORCH OF NAG'S HEAD INN, LEICESTER.
Built 1663.
Richardson's "Studies from Old English Mansions."

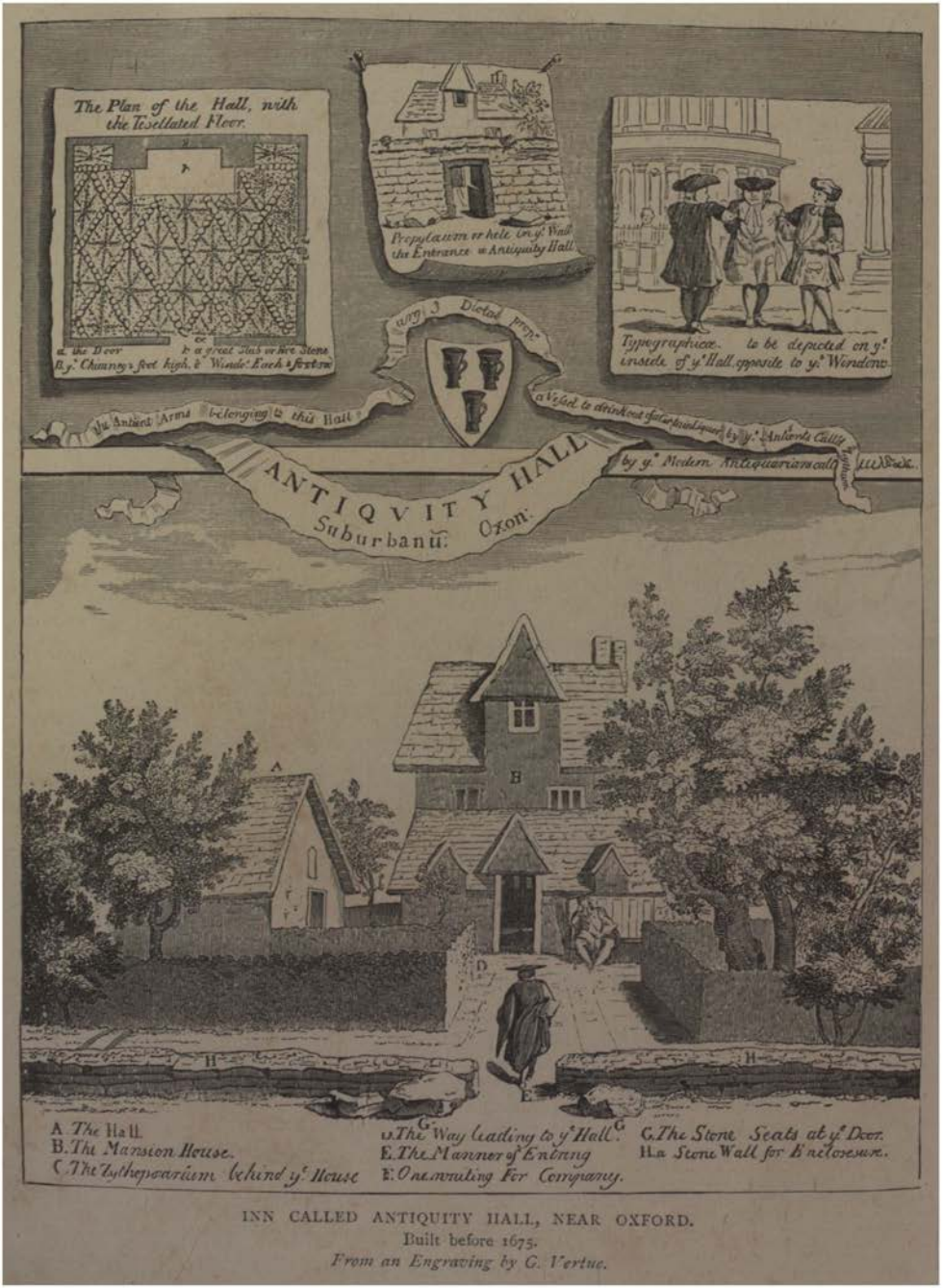
Prince of Orange had roused the stubborn energy of his countrymen. The French conquests on land were slowly won back, and at sea the fleet of the allies was still held in check by the fine seamanship of De Ruyter. Nor was William less successful in diplomacy than in war. The House of Austria was at last roused

to action by the danger which threatened Europe, and its union with the United Provinces laid the foundation of the Grand Alliance. If Charles was firm to continue the war, Shaftesbury, like the Parliament itself, was resolved on peace; and for this purpose he threw himself into hearty alliance with the Country party in the Commons, and welcomed the Duke of Ormond and Prince Rupert, who were looked upon as "great Parliament men,"

DOORWAY OF PEARCE'S CLOTHING FACTORY, NEWBURY, BERKS.
Built 1672.

back to the royal council. It was to Shaftesbury's influence that Charles attributed the dislike which the Commons displayed to the war, and their refusal of a grant of supplies until fresh religious securities were devised. It was at his instigation that an address was presented by both Houses against the plan of marrying James to a Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. But the projects of Shaftesbury were suddenly interrupted by an unexpected act of

Shaftesbury's Dismissal 1673


The Plan of the Hall, with the Tesellated Floor.
Propylæum or hole in y^e Wall the Entrance to Antiquity Hall
Typographicæ to be depicted on ye insides of ye Hall opposite to ye Windows
Why I Dicted from
The Antient Arms belonging to this Hall
a Vessel to drink out of or hold Liquor by ye Antients Calld
by ye Modern Antiquarians calld
ANTIQVITY HALL
Suburbanū Oxon:
A The Hall
B. The Mansion House.
C. The Tythepoarium behind ye House
D. The Way leading to ye Hall
E. The Manner of Entring
F. One waiting For Company.
G. The Stone Seats at ye Door.
H. a Stone Wall for Enclosure.

INN CALLED ANTIQUITY HALL, NEAR OXFORD.

Built before 1675.

From an Engraving by G. Vertue.

vigour on the part of the King. The Houses were no sooner prorogued in November than the Chancellor was ordered to deliver up the Seals.

Charles and Shaftesbury

"It is only laying down my gown and buckling on my sword," Shaftesbury is said to have replied to the royal bidding; and, though the words were innocent enough, for the sword was part of the usual dress of a gentleman which he must necessarily resume when he laid aside the gown of the Chancellor, they were taken as conveying a covert threat. He was still determined to force on the King a peace with the States. But he looked forward to the dangers of the future with even greater anxiety than to those of the present. The Duke of York, the successor to the throne, had owned himself a Catholic, and almost every one agreed that securities for the national religion would be necessary in the case of his accession. But Shaftesbury saw, and it is his especial merit that he did see, that with a King like James, convinced of his Divine Right and bigoted in his religious fervour, securities were valueless. From the first he determined to force on Charles his brother's exclusion from the throne, and his resolve was justified by the Revolution which finally did the work he proposed to do. Unhappily he was equally determined to fight Charles with weapons as vile as his own. The result of Clifford's resignation, of James's acknowledgement of his conversion, had been to destroy all belief in the honesty of public men. A panic of distrust had begun. The fatal truth was whispered that Charles himself was a Catholic. In spite of the Test Act, it was suspected that men Catholics in heart still held high office in the State, and we know that in Arlington's case the suspicion was just. Shaftesbury seized on this public alarm, stirred above all by a sense of inability to meet the secret dangers which day after day was disclosing, as the means of carrying out his plans. He began fanning the panic by tales of a Papist rising in London, and of a coming Irish revolt with a French army to back it. He retired to his house in the City to find security against a conspiracy which had been formed, he said, to cut his throat. Meanwhile he rapidly organized the Country party in the Parliament, and placed himself openly at its head. An address for the removal of ministers "popishly affected or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous" was presented on the re-

The public panic

1674

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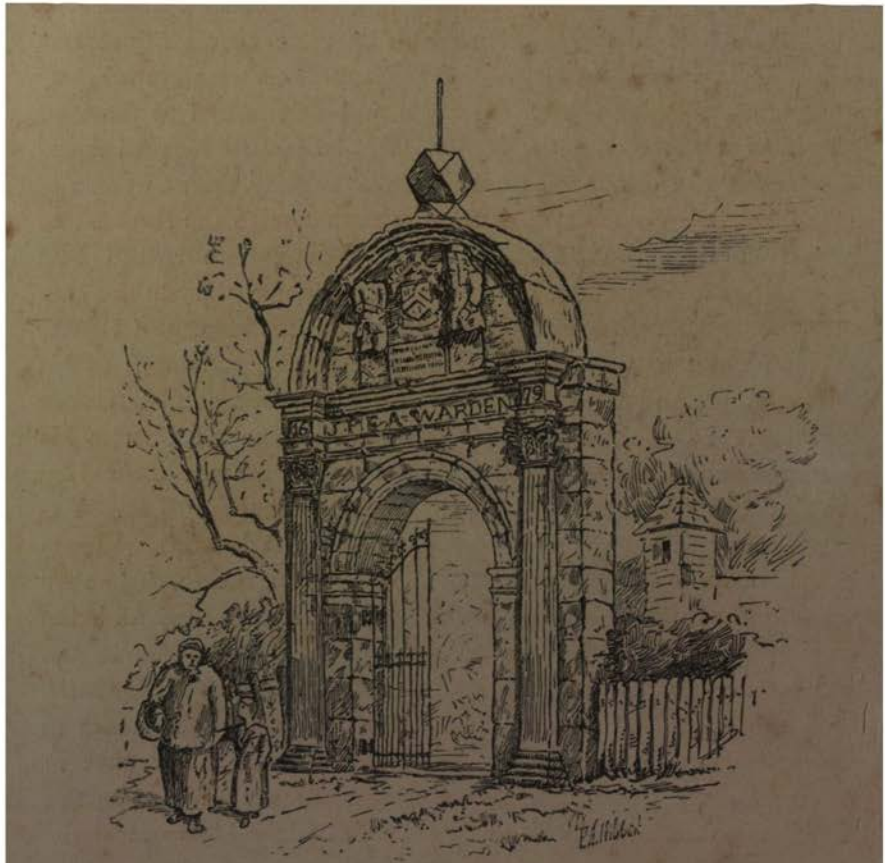
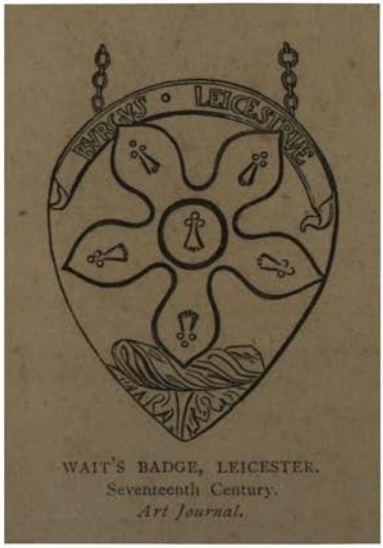
assembling of the Houses. The Commons called on the King to dismiss Lauderdale, Buckingham, and Arlington, and to disband the troops raised since 1664. A bill was brought in to prevent all Catholics from approaching the Court, in other words for removing James from the King's councils. A far more important bill was



ENTRANCE TO ARBOUR OF SHOEMAKERS' GILD, SHREWSBURY.
Built 1679.
Drawing by Mr. F. A. Hibbert.

that of the Protestant Securities, which was pressed by Shaftesbury, Halifax, and Carlisle, the leaders of the new Opposition in the House of Lords, a bill which enacted that any prince of the blood should forfeit his right to the Crown on his marriage with a Catholic. The bill, which was the first sketch of the

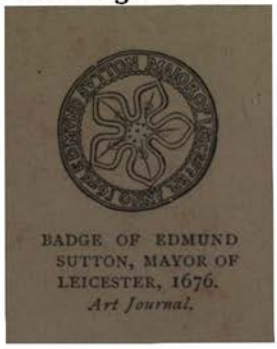
later Exclusion Bill, failed to pass, but its failure left the Houses excited and alarmed. Shaftesbury intrigued busily in the City, corresponded with William of Orange, and pressed for a war with France which Charles could only avert by an appeal to Lewis, a subsidy from whom enabled him to prorogue the Parliament. But Charles saw that the time had come to give way. "Things have turned out ill," he said to Temple with a burst of unusual petulance, "but had I been well served I might have made a good business of it." His concessions however were as usual complete. He dismissed Buckingham and Arlington. He made peace with the Dutch. But Charles was never more formidable than in the moment of defeat, and he had already resolved on a new policy by which the efforts of Shaftesbury might be held at bay.



WAIT'S BADGE, LEICESTER.
Seventeenth Century.
Art Journal.

Peace with Holland
1674

Ever since the opening of his reign he had clung to a system of balance, had pitted Churchman against Nonconformist, and Ashley against Clarendon, partly to preserve his own independence, and partly with a view of winning some advantage to the Catholics from the political strife. The temper of the Commons had enabled Clarendon to baffle the King's efforts; and on his fall Charles felt strong enough to abandon the attempt to preserve a political balance, and had sought to carry out his designs with the single support of the Nonconformists. But the new policy had broken down like the old. The Nonconformists refused to betray the cause of Protestantism, and Shaftesbury, their leader, was pressing on measures which would rob Catholicism of the hopes it had gained from the conversion of James. In straits like these Charles resolved to win back the Commons by boldly adopting the policy on


BADGE OF EDMUND SUTTON, MAYOR OF LEICESTER, 1676.
Art Journal.

THOMAS OSBORNE, EARL OF DANBY.
Picture by Vandyck in the possession of Mr. F. Vernon Wentworth.

which the House was set. The majority of its members were Cavalier Churchmen, who regarded Sir Thomas Osborne, a dependant of Arlington's, as their representative in the royal councils. The King had already created Osborne Earl of Danby, and made him Lord Treasurer in Clifford's room. In 1674 he frankly adopted the policy of Danby and his party in the Parliament.

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The policy of Danby was in the main that of Clarendon. He had all Clarendon's love of the Church, his equal hatred of Popery and Dissent, his high notions of the prerogative tempered by a faith in Parliament and the law. His first measures were directed to allay the popular panic, and strengthen the position of James. Mary, the Duke's eldest child, and after him the presumptive heir to the Crown, was confirmed by the royal order as a Protestant. Secret negotiations were opened for her marriage with William of Orange, the son of the King's sister Mary, who if James and his house were excluded stood next in succession to the crown. Such a marriage secured James against the one formidable rival to his claims, while it opened to William a far safer chance of mounting the throne at his father-in-law's death. The union between the Church and the Crown was ratified in conferences between Danby and the bishops; and its first fruits were seen in the rigorous enforcement of the law against conventicles, and the exclusion of all Catholics from court; while the Parliament which was assembled in 1675 was assured that the Test Act should be rigorously enforced. The change in the royal policy came not a moment too soon. As it was, the aid of the Cavalier party which rallied round Danby hardly saved the King from the humiliation of being forced to recall the troops he still maintained in the French service. To gain a majority on this point Danby was forced to avail himself of a resource which from this time played for nearly a hundred years an important part in English politics. He bribed lavishly. He was more successful in winning back the majority of the Commons from their alliance with the Country party by reviving the old spirit of religious persecution. He proposed that the test which had been imposed by Clarendon on municipal officers should be extended to all functionaries of the State; that every member of either House, every magistrate and public officer, should swear never to take

Danby

Danby and the Commons

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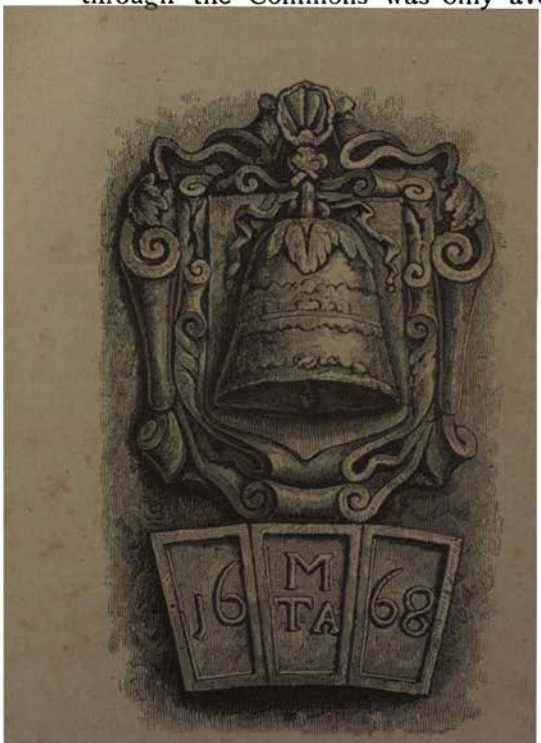
arms against the King or to "endeavour any alteration of the Protestant religion now established by law in the Church of England, or any alteration in the Government in Church and State as it is by law established." The Bill was forced through the Lords by the bishops and the Cavalier party, and its passage through the Commons was only averted by a quarrel on privilege between the two Houses which Shaftesbury dexterously fanned into flame. On the other hand the Country party remained strong enough to hamper their grant of supplies with conditions unacceptable to the King. Eager as they were for the war with France which Danby promised, the Commons could not trust the King; and Danby was soon to discover how wise their distrust had been. For the Houses were no sooner prorogued than Charles revealed to him the negotiations he had been all the while carrying on with Lewis, and required



SIGN OF THE BELL, KNIGHTRIDER STREET, 1668.
Guildhall Museum.

1675 him to sign a treaty by which, on consideration of a yearly pension guaranteed on the part of France, the two sovereigns bound themselves to enter into no engagements with other powers, and to lend each other aid in case of rebellion in their dominions. Such a treaty not only bound England to dependence on France, but freed the King from all Parliamentary control. But his minister pleaded in vain for delay and for the advice of the Council. Charles answered his entreaties by signing the treaty

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Danby's measures

with his own hand. Danby found himself duped by the King as Shaftesbury had found himself duped; but his bold temper was only spurred to fresh plans for rescuing Charles from his bondage to Lewis. To do this the first step was to reconcile the King and the Parliament, which met after a prorogation of fifteen months. The Country party stood in the way of such a reconciliation, but Danby resolved to break its strength by measures of unscrupulous vigour, for which a blunder of Shaftesbury's gave an opportunity. Shaftesbury despaired of bringing the House of Commons, elected as it had been fifteen years before in a moment of religious and

Feb. 1677

SIGN OF THE BOAR'S HEAD, EASTCHEAP.
Guildhall Museum.

political reaction, to any steady opposition to the Crown. He had already moved an address for a dissolution; and he now urged that as a statute of Edward the Third ordained that Parliaments should be held "once a year or oftener if need be," the Parliament by the recent prorogation of a year and a half had ceased legally to exist. The Triennial Act deprived such an argument of any force. But Danby represented it as a contempt of the House, and the Lords at his bidding committed its supporters, Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, to the Tower. While the Opposition cowered under the blow, Danby pushed on a measure which was designed to win back alarmed Churchmen to confidence in the

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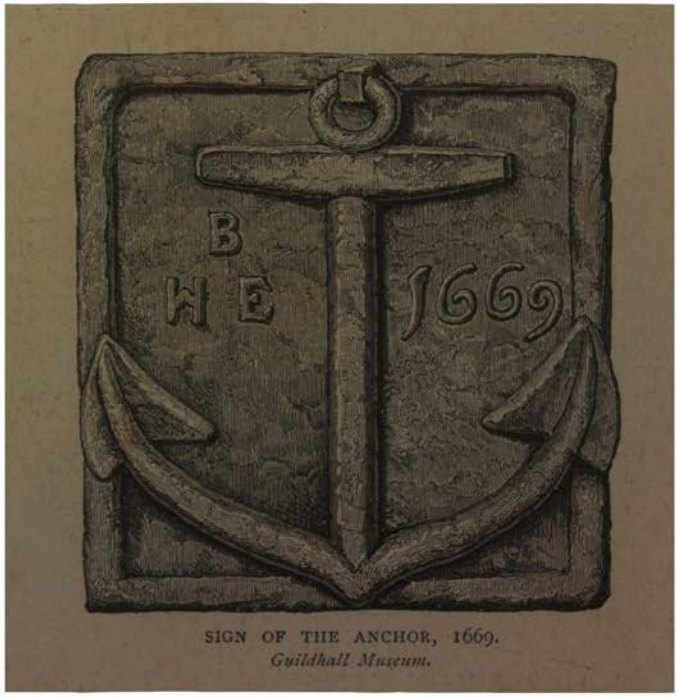
Crown. By the Bill for the security of the Church it was provided that on the succession of a king not a member of the Established Church the appointment of bishops should be vested in the existing prelates, and that the King's children should be placed in the guardianship of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Treaty of Nimeguen

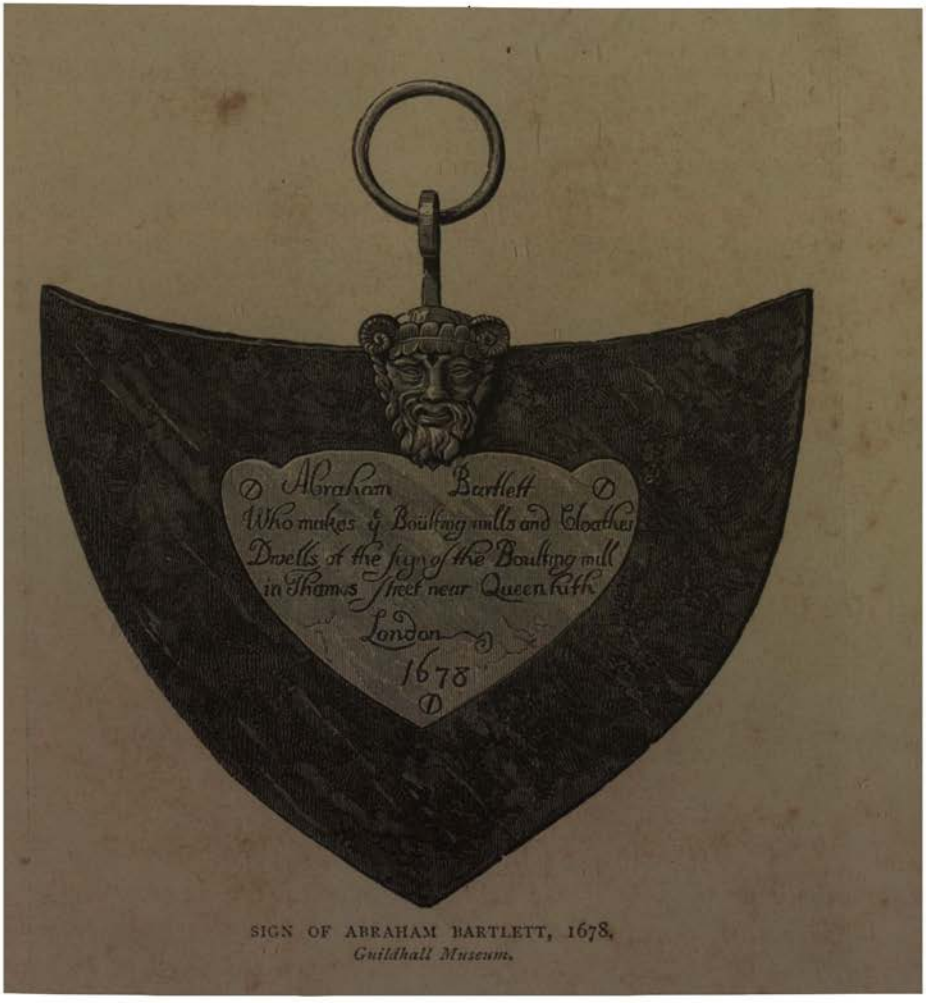
The bill however failed in the Commons; and a grant of supply was only obtained by Danby's profuse bribery. The progress of the war abroad, indeed, was rousing panic in England faster than



SIGN OF THE ANCHOR, 1669.
Guildhall Museum.

Danby could allay it. New successes of the French arms in Flanders, and a defeat of the Prince of Orange at Cassel, stirred the whole country to a cry for war. The two Houses echoed the cry in an address to the Crown; but Charles parried the blow by demanding a supply before the war was declared, and on the refusal of the still suspicious House prorogued the Parliament. Fresh and larger subsidies from France enabled him to continue this prorogation for seven months. But the silence of the Parliament did little to silence the country; and Danby took advantage of the

popular cry for war to press an energetic course of action on the King. In its will to check French aggression the Cavalier party was as earnest as the Puritan, and Danby aimed at redeeming his failure at home by uniting the Parliament through a vigorous


Abraham Bartlett
Who makes & Boulting mills and Cloathes
Dwells at the Sign of the Boulting mill
in Thames Street near Queenhith
London
1678

SIGN OF ABRAHAM BARTLETT, 1678.
Guildhall Museum.

policy abroad. As usual, Charles appeared to give way. He was himself for the moment uneasy at the appearance of the French on the Flemish coast, and he owned that "he could never live at ease with his subjects" if Flanders were abandoned. He allowed Danby, therefore, to press on both parties the necessity for mutual

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concessions, and to define the new attitude of England by a step which was to produce momentous results. The Prince of Orange

PRINCESS MARY.
From an etching by A. Mongin, in "The Portfolio," of a picture by Sir P. Lely at Hampton Court.

was invited to England, and wedded to Mary, the presumptive heiress of the Crown. The marriage promised a close political

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union in the future with Holland, and a corresponding opposition to the ambition of France. With the country it was popular as a Protestant match, and as ensuring a Protestant successor to James. But Lewis was bitterly angered; he rejected the English propositions of peace, and again set his army in the field. Danby was ready to accept the challenge, and the withdrawal of the English ambassador from Paris was followed by an assembly of the Parliament. A warlike speech from the throne was answered by a warlike address from the House, supplies were voted, and an army raised. But the actual declaration of war still failed to appear. While Danby threatened France, Charles was busy turning the threat to his own profit, and gaining time by prorogations for a series of base negotiations. At one stage he demanded from Lewis a fresh pension for the next three years as the price of his good offices with the allies. Danby stooped to write the demand, and Charles added, "This letter is written by my order, C.R." A force of three thousand English soldiers were landed at Ostend; but the allies were already broken by their suspicions of the King's real policy, and Charles soon agreed for a fresh pension to recall the brigade. The bargain was hardly struck when Lewis withdrew the terms of peace he had himself offered, and on the faith of which England had ostensibly retired from the scene. Once more Danby offered aid to the allies, but all faith in England was lost. One power after another gave way to the new French demands, and *July* 1678 though Holland, the original cause of the war, was saved, the Peace of Nimeguen made Lewis the arbiter of Europe.

Marriage of William and Mary 1678

Disgraceful as the peace was to England, it left Charles the master of a force of twenty thousand men levied for the war he refused to declare, and with nearly a million of French money in his pocket. His course had roused into fresh life the old suspicions of his perfidy, and of a secret plot with Lewis for the ruin of English freedom and of English religion. That there was such a plot we know; and from the moment of the Treaty of Dover the hopes of the Catholic party mounted even faster than the panic of the Protestants. But they had been bitterly disappointed by the King's withdrawal from his schemes after his four years ineffectual struggle, and by his seeming return to the policy of Clarendon. Their anger and despair were

The Popish Plot

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revealed in letters from English Jesuits, and the correspondence of Coleman. Coleman, the secretary of the Duchess of York, and a busy intriguer, had gained sufficient knowledge of the real plans of the King and of his brother to warrant him in begging for money from Lewis for the work of saving Catholic interests from Danby's hostility by intrigues in the Parliament. A passage from one of his letters gives us a glimpse of the wild dreams which were stirring among the hotter Catholics of the time. "They had a mighty work on their hands," he wrote, "no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy which had so long domineered over a great part of the northern world. Success would give the greatest blow to the Protestant religion that it had received since its birth." The suspicions which had been stirred in the public mind mounted into alarm when the Peace of Nimeguen suddenly left Charles master—as it seemed—of the position; and it was of this general panic that one of the vile impostors who are always thrown to the surface at times of great public agitation was ready to take advantage by the invention of a Popish plot. Titus Oates, a Baptist minister before the Restoration, a curate and navy chaplain after it, but left penniless by his infamous character, had sought bread in a conversion to Catholicism, and had been received into Jesuit houses at Valladolid and St. Omer. While

DESIGN FOR PLAYING-CARD, BY W. FAITHORNE, 1684.
British Museum.

Titus Oates

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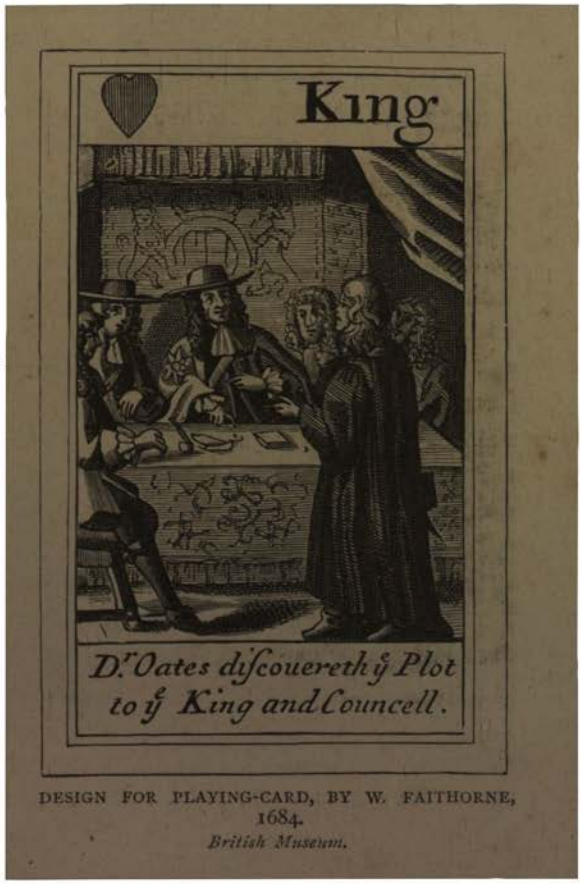
he remained there, he learnt the fact of a secret meeting of the Jesuits in London, which was probably nothing but the usual congregation of the order. On his expulsion for misconduct this single fact widened in his fertile brain into a plot for the subversion of Protestantism and the death of the King. His story was laid before Charles, and received with cool incredulity; but *Aug.* 1678 Oates made affidavit of its truth before a London magistrate, Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, and at last managed to appear before the Council. He declared that he had been trusted with letters which disclosed the Jesuit plans. They were stirring rebellion in Ireland; in Scotland they disguised themselves as Cameronians; in England their aim was to assassinate the King, and to leave the throne open to the Papist Duke of York. The extracts from Jesuit letters however which he produced, though they showed the disappointment and anger of the writers, threw no light on the monstrous charges of a plot for assassination. Oates would have been dismissed indeed with contempt but for the seizure of Coleman's correspondence His letters gave a new colour to the plot. Danby himself, conscious of the truth that there were designs which Charles dared not avow, was shaken in his rejection of the disclosures, and inclined to use them as weapons to check the King in his



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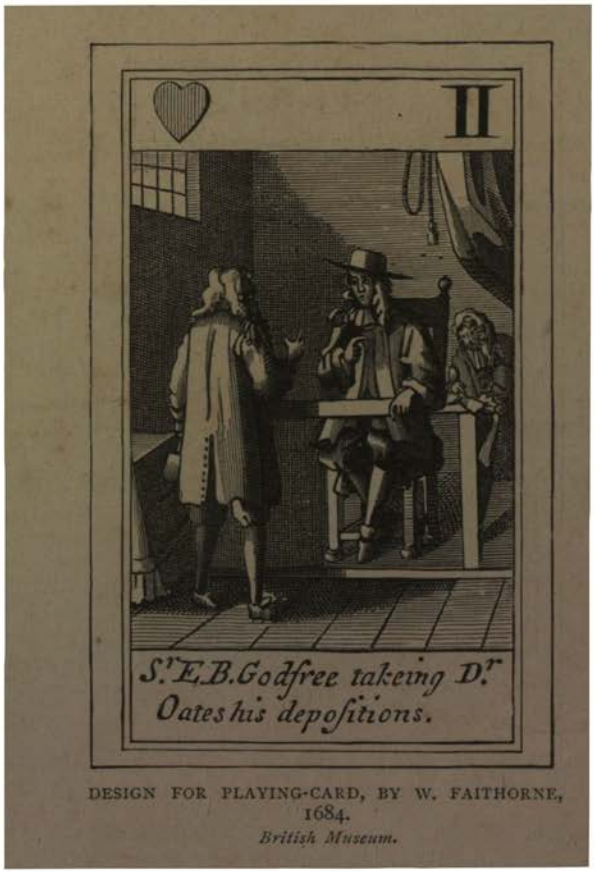
Catholic policy. But a more dexterous hand had already seized on the growing panic. Shaftesbury, released after a long imprisonment and hopeless of foiling the King's policy in any other way, threw himself into the plot. "Let the Treasurer cry as loud as he pleases against Popery," he laughed, "I will cry a note louder." But no cry was needed to heighten the popular frenzy from the moment when Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, the magistrate before whom Oates had laid his information, was found in a field near London with his sword run through his heart. His death was assumed to be murder, and the murder to be an attempt of the Jesuits to "stifle the plot." A solemn funeral added to public agitation; and the two Houses named committees to investigate the charges made by Oates.



DESIGN FOR PLAYING-CARD, BY W. FAITHORNE, 1684.
British Museum.

The Fall of Danby

In this investigation Shaftesbury took the lead. Whatever his personal ambition may have been, his public aims in all that followed were wise and far-sighted. He aimed at forcing Charles to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the nation. He aimed at driving Danby out of office and at forcing on Charles a ministry which should break his dependence on France and give a constitutional turn to his policy. He saw that no security would really avail to meet the danger of a Catholic sovereign, and he aimed at excluding James from the

throne. But in pursuing these aims he rested wholly on the plot. He fanned the popular panic by accepting without question some fresh depositions in which Oates charged five Catholic peers with part in the Jesuit conspiracy. The peers were sent to the Tower, and two thousand suspected persons were hurried to prison. A proclamation ordered every Catholic to leave London. The trainbands were called to arms, and patrols paraded through the streets, to guard against the Catholic rising which Oates declared to be at hand. Meanwhile Shaftesbury turned the panic to political account by forcing through Parliament a bill which excluded Catholics from a seat in either House. The exclusion remained in force for a century and a half; but it had really been aimed against the Duke of York, and Shaftesbury was defeated by a proviso which exempted James from the operation of the bill. The plot, which had been supported for four months by the sole evidence of Oates, began to hang fire; but a promise of reward brought forward a villain, named Bedloe, with tales beside which those of Oates seemed tame. The two informers were now pressed forward by an infamous rivalry to stranger and stranger revelations. Bedloe swore to the existence of a plot for the landing of a Catholic army and a general massacre of the Protestants. Oates capped the revelations of Bedloe by charging the Queen herself, at the bar of the Lords, with knowledge of the plot to

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DESIGN FOR PLAYING-CARD, BY W. FAITHORNE, 1684. *British Museum.*

SWORD-REST OF THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, c. 1680,
IN S. HELEN'S CHURCH, BISHOPSGATE.

murder her husband. Monstrous as such charges were, they revived the waning frenzy of the people and of the two Houses. The peers under arrest were ordered to be impeached. A new proclamation enjoined the arrest of every Catholic in the realm. A series of judicial murders began with the trial and execution of Coleman, which even now can only be remembered with horror. But the alarm must soon have worn out had it only been supported by perjury. What gave force to the false plot was the existence of a true one. Coleman's letters had won credit for the perjuries of Oates, and a fresh discovery now won credit for the perjuries of Bedloe. From the moment when the pressure of the Commons and of Danby had forced Charles into a position of seeming antagonism to France, Lewis had resolved to bring about the dissolution of the Parliament, the fall of the Minister, and the disbanding of the army which Danby still looked on as a weapon against him. For this purpose the French ambassador had entered into negotiations with the leaders of the Country party. The English ambassador at Paris, Ralph Montagu, now returned home on a quarrel with Danby, obtained a seat in the House of Commons, and in spite of the seizure of his papers, laid on the table of the House the despatch which had been forwarded to Lewis, demanding payment for the King's services to France during the late negotiations. The House was thunderstruck; for strong as had been the general suspicion, the fact of the dependence of England on a foreign power had never before been proved. Danby's name was signed to the despatch, and he was at once impeached on a charge of high treason. But Shaftesbury was more eager to secure the election of a new Parliament than to punish his rival, and Charles was resolved to prevent at any price a trial which could not fail to reveal the disgraceful secret of his foreign policy. Charles was in fact at Shaftesbury's mercy, and the end for which Shaftesbury had been playing was at last secured. In January, 1679, the Parliament of 1661, after the longest unbroken life in our Parliamentary annals, was at last dissolved.

Lewis and the Plot

Dissolution of the Parliament

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